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ACCEPTED, REJECTED, UNKNOWN:

THE IMPACT OF WORLD POLITICS AND PUBLISHING POLICIES SINCE 1945 ON THE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH OF POLISH NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES OF THE 1945-1989 PERIOD

PhD dissertation written under the supervision of
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Contents

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Spelling and Punctuation Conventions

Spelling conventions:

Certain standard as well as non-standard spelling conventions were adopted for the present dissertation:

1) In the main text names of ideologies and people professing them are spelt with lower case letters, including those derived from proper names (e.g. nazism, nazi, stalinism, stalinist).[1]

2) In quotations the original spelling was retained in all cases, thus leaving the American or British varieties of English unchanged and preserving authorial idiosyncrasies or spelling conventions different from those otherwise employed in this work.

3) The capitalisation of proper names of such historical periods as the Second World War, the Cold War, or the October Thaw is used in the main text, while "martial law," denoting a form of government, is spelt with lower case letters.

4) English translations of titles of unpublished literary works are not italicised in the main text.

Punctuation conventions:

1) The following graphic solution was introduced in quoted texts in order to signal which ellipses or additional remarks come from the source of the quote and which were introduced in this dissertation:

(…) – ellipsis originally present in the source text,

[…] – ellipsis introduced to the source text in this dissertation,

( ) – additional information originally present in the source text,

[ ] – additional information introduced to the source text in this dissertation.

2) Double quotation marks are used throughout the main text. Single quotation marks occur whenever there is a quotation or an abstract term contained within a quotation introduced with double quotation marks.

[1] No doubt, this spelling convention is a marked choice, employed before by such authors as Matthew Goodwin (2012), Aristotle Kallis (2014: 12) or Piotr Świderek (1966: 33-34). Moreover, since atrocities perpetrated by German forces during the Second World War were not necessarily committed by members of the Nazi Party, but subscribed to the radical nationalist ideology, the lower case spelling of nazi and nazism parallels the use of the lower case spelling of fascist and fascism.

Acronyms

CCF	Congress for Cultural Freedom
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
DIA	Defense Intelligence Agency
FE(C)	Free Europe (Committee)
FEP	Free Europe Press
FIT	*Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs*
IWP	International Writing Program
M.P.	*Monitor Polski*
MI6	Military Intelligence section 6
NCFE	National Committee for a Free Europe
NSDAP	*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*
PAL	*Polska Akademia Literatury*
PEN	Poets, Essayists and Novelists
PIASA	Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America
SFWA	Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USIA	United States information Agency
ZAiKS	*Związek Autorów i Kompozytorów Scenicznych*

Introduction

The idea for the thesis devoted to Polish novels and short-story collections first published between 1945 and 1989 and subsequently accepted or rejected by the English-language literary polysystem in the years from 1945 till the present originated in reaction to the striking gap discernible between the high reputation and continuing popularity of many Polish narratives dating to the former period concerned and their absence in English translation. Naturally, one-to-one correspondence between any long-established literatures is impossible, especially if power relations between them are asymmetrical. As Benjamin Paloff noticed: "beyond the academic world, [in the West] the phrase 'Polish literature' is not equivalent to [the Polish understanding of] *literatura polska*" (2010: 87; trans. mine). Even if we accept this unflattering truth, unflattering since it denotes the lack of popular interest in Polish culture in the West, the study of what has or has not been translated into English and what forms the Anglo-American concept of Polish literature remains valid. The question becomes especially interesting when extra-literary factors come into play, be it international politics of the Cold War period or contemporary publishing policies, according to which publishers are unwilling to invest in writers and books from the old literary repertoire.

The lack of pre-1990 English versions of prose works by Kornel Filipowicz (1913-1990), Julian Kawalec (1916-2014), Zofia Posmysz (b. 1923), Tadeusz Nowak (1930-1991), Jan Himilsbach (1931-1988), Wiesław Myśliwski (b. 1932), Edward Stachura (1937-1979) or Edward Redliński (b. 1940) suggests that the main factor behind the discrepancy between the image of Polish literature of the studied period in Poland and that which emerges abroad from its English-language renditions was Cold War politics. Even if appreciated at their source, novels and short stories by the above-mentioned authors remained outside the scope of interest of Anglo-American translation commissioners, focused on the anti-communist aspect of literary works. Symptomatically, out of all the narratives by Marek Nowakowski only his *Raport o stanie wojennym* (1982) was chosen for translation and appeared in English as *The Canary and Other Tales of Martial Law* (1983). Similarly, a large number of books translated into English up till 1989 give evidence to political oppression under communism, which shows that their publication must have been aimed at discouraging Anglo-Americans from

supporting this ideology.[1] Juxtaposed with the evils of communism, capitalism was thus presented as the only reasonable political and economic system to be retained west of the Iron Curtain or to be adopted east of it after the predicted (and, according to the triumphalist school of American historians, carefully staged) collapse of the Soviet bloc took place.

Until 1989, literature, also that in translation from and into English, had an important role to play in the Western struggle against the East. Obviously, countries on both sides of the political divide employed literary writing as yet one more weapon in their battle for the mind. The strategy was simple enough: import translations of any works which testify to the corruption of the ideas professed by your opponent, export anything which will change the mindset of the people in the enemy's camp in order to attract them to your (ostensive) values and make them support your cause.[2] To a large extent this recipe could be implemented by capitalists thanks to anti-communist Polish writers, whether those from the émigré diaspora, those who defected to the West after their disillusionment with communism, or those who stayed in Poland.

In her fascinating book, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (2013),[3] Frances Stonor Saunders gives a comprehensive account of the postwar situation in the cultural propaganda contest between the East and the West, initially dominated by the Soviet Union:

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[1] Even more manipulative was the fact that American discourse, also literary, almost never used the word "socialism" to describe the political system in Poland or at least to refer to some of its systemic solutions or social achievements introduced after 1945.

[2] Just as politics was the key selective factor behind translations of Polish literature of 1945-1989 into English, it also influenced the choice of Anglo-American writings rendered at that period into Polish. Robert Looby, the author of *Censorship, Translation and English Language Fiction in People's Poland* (2015), writes: "Publishing policy became so strict under Stalinism that if a contemporary western novel appeared at all that means it was considered at the very least 'progressive.' This was the word favoured in Polish ('postępowy') for writers who, being from the wrong side of the Iron Curtain, could not reasonably be expected to be truly revolutionary. […] For writers who were less explicitly radical there was another much-loved adjective in public discourse in Poland: 'demaskatorski' ('revealing, exposing'). Books were often praised for exposing the true face of capitalism or racism in the United States, for example" (2015: 28). For more on progressive American writers see Walter B. Rideout, *The Radical Novel in the United States, 1900-1954: Some Interrelations of Literature and Society*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956 and Daniel Aaron, *Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism*, New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961. In the context of visual arts David Caute observed: "Tom Stoppard's *Squaring the Circle*, a filmed drama first broadcast on British television (Channel 4) in May 1984, [encompassed] events in Poland from the fall of Gierek through the rise of Solidarity to the imposition of martial law by General Jaruzelski, now first secretary of the party and prime minister. *Squaring the Circle* embodies a notable paradox of Western cold war culture: Stoppard's Polish workers are held to be right in their wage demands, right in their insistence on the release of imprisoned comrades, and right to strike. Ironically, *Squaring the Circle* appeared on television while Mrs Thatcher was crushing the miners' strike in Britain by massive use of police power, employing 'national interest' arguments not unlike those of Gierek and Jaruzelski in Poland" (2005: 373-374). In turn, the violent governmental response to Polish students' protests in 1968 had a parallel in the United States during the 1969 "Bloody Thursday" in People's Park in Berkley, California, when Governor Ronald Reagan sent 2,700 National Guard troops against students demanding a free-speech area and a free public park.

[3] First published as *Who Paid the Piper?*, London: Granta Books, 1999.

> Experts in the use of culture as a tool of political persuasion, the Soviets did much in these early years of the Cold War to establish their central paradigm as a cultural one. Lacking the economic power of the United States and, above all, still without a nuclear capability, Stalin's regime concentrated on winning "the battle for men's minds." America, despite the massive marshaling of the arts in the New Deal period, was a virgin in the practice of international Kulturkampf. (2013: 15)

However, the Americans soon learnt how to respond to the Soviet cultural offensive (subsequently surpassing their enemy), first in the strategic European location of West Berlin:

> Mindful of Disraeli's injunction that "a book may be as great a thing as a battle," a vast books program was launched, aimed primarily at "projecting the American story before the German reader in the most effective manner possible." Appealing to commercial publishers, the occupation government ensured a constant flow of "general books" which were deemed "more acceptable than government-sponsored publications because they do not have the taint of propaganda." But propaganda they were certainly intended to be. Translations [of American writers] commissioned by the Psychological Warfare Division of American Military Government alone ran to hundreds of titles […] European authors were also promoted as part of an explicitly "anti-Communist program." Suitable texts were "whatever critiques of Soviet foreign policy and of Communism as a form of government we find to be objective, convincingly written, and timely." (ibid.: 19)

The same principle applied to Polish authors published in the West, also in English translation. As a result, a thought pattern which deformed the perception of Polish literature was forged in Anglophone countries, lasting there until the fall of communism in Central Europe.[4] Instead of being assessed on a purely literary or existential basis, literature was seen mainly through the prism of politics. Publishing policies were motivated either ideologically (mainly in the case of university presses) or financially (mainly privately owned publishing houses), both kinds of publishing ventures often infiltrated and subsidised by the CIA.[5]

Consequently, the reading of writers who succeeded in being translated into Western languages was often reduced to the political paradigm. In his review of Jarosław Anders's

[4] Similarly, Eric Bennett, the author of *Workshops of Empire: Stegner, Engle, and American Creative Writing during the Cold War* (2015), writes: "What shaped writing at Iowa was not spies and spooks but the intellectual and ideological climate particular to two decades of American history, starting in 1945. It is both harder and more important to understand than a theory of conspiracy." Nevertheless he is convinced that "the CIA connection" is "far from deserving to be downplayed or dismissed as a fluke" (113).

[5] A notable exception to this rule were books published by Marian and Hanna Kister, the owners of Roy Publishers, the American embodiment of the pre-war Warsaw-based Rój. Just as before the war in Poland, the Kisters remained objective in promoting Polish writing on an apolitical basis throughout their presence on the Anglophone publishing market.

anthology, *Between Fire and Sleep: Essays on Modern Polish Poetry and Prose* (2009), in which Anders suggests it is time for a new, less politically reductive interpretation of works by such writers as Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (1885-1939), Bruno Schulz (1892-1942), Witold Gombrowicz (1904-1969), Czesław Miłosz (1911-2004), Wisława Szymborska (1923-2012), Zbigniew Herbert (1924-1998), Gustaw Herling-Grudziński (1919-2000), Tadeusz Konwicki (1926-2015) and Adam Zagajewski (b. 1945), Benjamin Paloff points out: "Today it is doubtful that any reader, Polish or not, would agree that these nine authors encapsulate the whole story of Polish literature in the twentieth century" (2009: 34). It is exactly the same conclusion that spurred the present dissertation devoted to both: works of Polish fiction of the 1945-1989 period which were translated into English between 1945 and 2015, as well as those which, even if popular and recognised in their home or émigré contexts, have never been introduced into English in book form.

Until now, twenty-five years after the socio-economic transformation in Poland, there has been no scientific study specifically devoted to Polish literature of the 1945-1989 period in the context of English translation. Although there is a vast amount of research in different aspects of Polish writing produced between 1945 and 1989, whether by authors based in Poland or abroad, all existing publications about Polish literature and English-language translation have been limited to the body of translated works. So far, researchers have focused either on English renditions of Polish literature written originally after the political changes of 1989 (Kuhiwczak 2007), or on English translations of all Polish literature carried out in the new, post-1989, political situation (Rzepa 2011).

The structure of the dissertation reflects its focus in the following way: the literary, as well as extra-literary factors conditioning the transfer of Polish narratives into English are discussed in Chapter One, which provides a description of the Polish and Anglo-American literary polysystems, presented within the framework of Polish-English translation and publishing policies. The chapter gives a historical overview of the most important political events influencing both literary polysystems with respect to the publishing of Polish novels and short-story collections in English rendition, starting with the pre-war period and finishing with contemporary trends. An account of postwar patronage over Polish literature in English translation on both sides of the literary polysystem (the guest and the host one) is to be found in this part of the thesis, within which the role of awards for Polish-English literary translation is especially stressed.

Chapter Two constitutes the qualitative and quantitative analysis of Polish novels and short-story collections of the 1945-1989 period translated into English and presented decade

by decade. Such a study allowed the identification of the most popular literary themes and authors and helped to reveal translation trends with reference to the place and mode of publication of both: the original Polish version of the book (brought out officially in Poland, in *samizdat* or abroad), as well as its translations (published in Poland or abroad). Special heed was given to the correlation between certain topics and publishing houses. Apart from books by single authors, the chapter provides a similar examination of anthologies.

In contrast to Chapter Two, Chapter Three focuses on those notable Polish writers whose narratives have not found their way into English-language translated literature. Although before 1990 the reasons for the rejection or ignorance of their works were mainly political, by no means were they exclusive as the three case studies of which the chapter consists illustrate. The first section of Chapter Three introduces the singular case of Edward Stachura, whose extreme popularity in Poland has not translated into any proportionate presence in English rendition. In the second section the so-called peasant literature, one of the most productive and popular literary trends in the People's Republic of Poland, is taken into consideration. The third study constitutes the most complex case, since it is concerned with works on two most popular topics identified in Chapter Two: the Second World War and politics in postwar Poland. Here, apart from the political struggle between the East and the West and the new alliances which were formed in the course of the Cold War, the question of the writer's gender seems to have played a significant role in the acceptance, rejection or ignorance of noteworthy literary works of Polish prose from the studied period. The pre-1990 patriarchal model of the society, which was present on both sides of the Iron Curtain but decidedly stronger in the Anglo-American world, almost by definition located texts by women authors in the peripheries of the literary polysystem, even if their narratives were artistic masterpieces and subscribed to the thematic concerns promoted in English translation.

The theoretical framework adopted for this study remains in accordance with the polysystemic approach, theorised by Itamar Even-Zohar (1990c and 1990d).[6] Drawing on the ideas of the Russian formalists, Even-Zohar suggested that in studying the status and image of translated literature in a given target culture, extra-literary factors should be taken into account as well. Questions about how a text is selected for translation, what role translation

[6] Referring to Even-Zohar's works on polysystem theory poses a certain methodological difficulty. The scholar's shift from literature to the broader concept of culture resulted in altering his founding papers. In supporting my line of thinking or while taking issue with some of Even-Zohar's statements, I will quote the most recent, not rarely substantially developed, versions of his articles, with a few exceptions when the direct reference to "literature" was subsequently substituted by "culture" and modified only stylistically or when some explanations are to be found only in the earlier papers, while the concepts they describe are also used in later rewritings.

agents (the commissioner, the publisher, the translator, the editor) play in it, or how a text will be received in the target system are at the heart of the polysystemic approach to studying translation.

Apart from the axiological position of translated literature as such, the situation of a given writer, corpus of writings or a single literary work can be analysed within Even-Zohar's polysystem theory. Such an approach has been taken in this work, albeit not unquestioningly. For instance, can we really define the synchronic state of a system as dynamic? Surely, in a given moment of time we can capture and portray interdependencies and differences between various strata and classes of any analysed system as "more than one diachronic set is operating [or rather present] on the synchronic axis" (Even-Zohar 2010b: 41). Yet, in order to call it dynamic, a change is needed and change happens only in and with time, however minute it might be. Of course, an exact science like physics allows for the negligence of certain minimal values, but this may not apply to time with reference to the polysystemic perspective in Translation Studies. Even-Zohar tries to solve this dilemma by introducing a terminological distinction between "synchronistic" = "static" and "synchronic" = "dynamic" (1990c: 11). This, however, is a logical fallacy and leads to terminological chaos. Instead of multiplying potentially misleading terms, it would be better to speak of the "polarisation" of value judgements concerning the same evaluated object (in this case a given literary entity) than about "dynamics" in a synchronic state. Such polarised assessment may result in the object's occupying differently stratified positions at a given static, synchronic moment. This position is naturally prone to time-bound, diachronic change.

Terminological niceties aside, Even-Zohar's research is invaluable as it captures some of the most important properties of the cultural, and within it literary, polysystems. One of the crucial formulations of the polysystem theory, based on Viktor Shklovsky's opposition between canonised and non-canonised texts is that "canonicity is […] no inherent feature of any activity on any level, but the outcome of power relations within a system" (2010b: 46). This has serious implications as:

> In such a view, "canonized" would mean those norms and works (i.e., both models and products) which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant groups within the literary institution. On the other hand, "non-canonized" would mean those norms and products which are rejected by these groups as illegitimate and whose products are often forgotten in the long run by the community (unless they change their status). (ibid.)

For Translation Studies this means that before a given literary work is adopted by a given target culture it undergoes a whole chain of assessment stages. Depending on the writer's choice of the subject matter and its linguistic expression, their work will occupy the canonised or non-canonised stratum in the source culture. This position in turn will affect the selection for being or not being translated into the target culture, where again the work will be subjected to value judgements or even downright prejudice against or favouritism for translated literature. Moreover, the status of the product (a translation) is dependent on the status of the producer (the author, the translator, the editor) or the sympathies between the producer and the market agent or institution (the initiator, the literary agent, the commissioner, the publisher, the literary critic). The tension between the two literary polysystems occurs when works canonised in one of them are not recognised in the other. This situation may be mutual or, more likely, one-sided. In his "Laws of Cultural Interference" (2010a)[7] Even-Zohar distinguishes four "conditions for the emergence and occurrence of cultural interferences." He points out that:

> 1. Contacts will sooner or later generate interference if no resisting conditions arise. 2. Interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within its own repertoire. 3. A culture becomes a source by prestige [the target culture emulates the source culture]. 4. A culture becomes a source by dominance [the source culture imposes its values or products onto the target culture]. (ibid.: 54)

Let us examine how the conditions listed above apply to Polish-English literary translation. While there is little doubt about the first statement, the second claim is more controversial. We can certainly agree that "interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within its own repertoire": after all, the import of most writings from Eastern Europe produced between 1945 and 1989 served either a political purpose or signalled interest in "the exotic" imported from behind the Iron Curtain to the West. If travelling in the opposite direction, from the West to the East, the "items unavailable" in the target repertoire had the taste of "the forbidden," which in such a case was frequently connected to the question of prestige, contained in point 3. What is disputable in the above statement, though, is the word "unavailable," since a boom for a given literary genre often generates a demand for more items of the kind, not rarely already available within the target

[7] As Even-Zohar comments on this source: "This is a rewriting of my paper 'Laws of Literary Interference,' *Poetics Today* [1990] 11:1, pp. 53-72 (based in its [sic] turn on Even-Zohar 1978), adapted to the field of culture research" (ibid.: 52).

repertoire. What might explain this phenomenon is that at the peak of the popularity of certain goods, almost every producer wants to jump on the bandwagon of what seems to be a lucrative business, as long as consumers want more of the goods in question. This might explain the general surplus of science-fiction narratives in the past or crime stories at present. Naturally, publishers and book-sellers actively shape the tastes and create the needs of the readership. As Even-Zohar writes:

> Transfers may succeed, however, not because of any emerging or extant disposition, but simply via the very occurrence of contacts with some other culture. Such contacts may raise a sense of insufficiency, especially if the other repertoire is richer, more prestigious among many groups, or may even promise "a better life." In such cases, the simple principle of "why don't we have what our neighbor has already got" is set in motion. Of course, such a principle may be just a justification and rationalization rather than the actual cause of transfer, but there are, on the other hand, many cases of genuine marketing of items whose necessity may not have emerged otherwise. (2010c: 74)

Points 3 and 4 on Even-Zohar's list, stating that a culture becomes a *source* by prestige or dominance, show in an even more pronounced way the difference between the Israeli scholar's perspective concerning the import of translated literature into the Hebrew literary polysystem and that of Polish letters being both exported abroad by the source culture and imported by the target ones to the English language. In the analysed situation of the Polish-English literary transfer, it would be difficult to speak of Anglophone literatures emulating the Polish one because of its prestige[8] (point 3) or surrendering to Poland's political or military dominance (point 4). Instead, Even-Zohar's tentative list should be complemented by three further points, the first being a situation in which a culture becomes a source of transfer because of an individual or institutional translation agent's emotional, intellectual, financial or political engagement, although the source culture's stance in hierarchy might not be especially impressive. Quite often the reason behind a transfer is a genuine fascination by and love for a given literary work, genre or author. In such cases, instead of the principle "Why don't we have what our neighbor has already got?" mentioned by Even-Zohar (ibid.: 74) a more elevated motivation prompts us to exclaim: "You must read this book! It's beautiful, entertaining, moving, elucidating, wise, etc."[9] In the context of Polish narratives imported to

[8] A number of indirect and abridged English translations of Polish literature still give evidence to the contrary.

[9] Personal motives, on the other hand, might be connected to effective marketing strategies thanks to which the interest in the source culture is stimulated and is steadily rising to the point of achieving, even if only

English-language literature such a situation has been taking place at some Polish émigré publishers' initiative.[10] Politically motivated literary imports, in turn, would often have the goal of revealing the failures of the person, people, country or system which is being criticised or campaigned against (e.g. exposing communist crimes and absurdities through translated literature). Obviously, there is also the financial reason behind translation, as well as the prestige associated with rendering literary works. Although most literary translators have other jobs which can sustain them on a regular basis, a small group of professionals manages to make a living from translating literature.

The second point which could be added to Even-Zohar's original list with reference to Polish-English literary translation would state that a culture might also become a *target* by prestige, since foreign translations of Polish literature are often possible thanks to the support, financial or otherwise, of cultural institutions (e.g. the Author's Agency, the Book Institute) which treat the proliferation of Polish literature abroad as an indicator of how high the stance of Polish writing is. The more foreign languages a given Polish work is translated into the more prestigious it becomes.

Moreover, what Even-Zohar fails to mention in connection with the fourth point on his list is that very often a target culture dominates another culture, which, dominated, becomes the source of transfer. Then, interference takes place by force on the part of the *dominating* target culture which appropriates goods, intellectual or material, from the *dominated* source culture without acknowledging its role and denying it any prestige. This obviously amounts to nothing else than oppression and the stealing either of ideas or physical goods by those who are more powerful physically, militarily, politically, economically or socially. Such a situation could be described by the following statement: A culture becomes a target by dominance (the target culture appropriates the ideas and/or products of the source culture).

Since Even-Zohar has often stressed that his theory is constantly "on the making," it should be recognised mainly as a valuable stepping-point for further research and discussion. So far, the scholar's theory and writings have opened new perspectives in Translation Studies and generated numerous important strains within this field. As Christina Schäffner writes:

> Linguistics-based theories, dominant in the 1950s and 1960s, which saw translation as meaning transfer between languages and cultures, did not

temporarily, the prestigious position mentioned in point 3 on Even-Zohar's list (e.g. Swedish crime novels launched in English-speaking countries by a small publisher, a fan of this kind of writing).

[10] For example Roy Publishers in the United States, Poets and Painters Press in England or Krzyś Chmiel in Canada.

> explicitly study aspects of politics, ideology, and power. Since the mid-1980s, with the development of descriptive translation studies (e.g. Even-Zohar, 1978; Toury, 1995; Hermans, 1985b; Lefevere, 1992a) and, more importantly, with approaches inspired by cultural studies (e.g. Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990; Venuti, 1995), the complexity of the phenomenon of translation has been recognised. The focus is now on social, cultural and communicative practices, on the cultural and ideological significance of translating and of translations, on the external politics of translation, on the relationship between translation behaviour and socio-cultural factors, on social causation and human agency. This also means that questions such as the following are being asked: Who decides which texts get translated, and from and into which languages? Where are the translations produced? Which factors determine the translator's behaviour? How are translations received? What is the status of translations, of translating, and of translators in the respective cultures and systems? Who chooses and trains translators? How many? For which language combinations? All these questions are related to politics: any decision to encourage, allow, promote, hinder or prevent to translate is a political decision. […] Studying these contexts in addition to the actual products (i.e. source texts and target texts) allows for deeper insights into translation than focusing solely on the (linguistics features of the) products. (2007: 136)

Indeed, the shift of emphasis from the formalist approach to studying translated texts to an analysis of the broader context in which these translations actually occurred, manifested the cultural turn in Translation Studies, signalled by Schäffner by the reference to the collection of essays *Translation, History and Culture* (1990), edited by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, as well as to Lawrence Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995).[11] Moreover, Schäffner's concluding sentence perfectly corresponds with Piotr Kuhiwczak's research priorities expressed in his paper "From Dissidents to Bestsellers: Polish Literature in English Translation After the End of the Cold War," in which we read:

> […] the question is whether the major changes in Poland had any impact on the translation of Polish literature into other languages. The question has two aspects. The first one concerns textual matters, that is whether the new linguistic and stylistic features of post-1989 Polish literature are a challenge for translators, and whether the new Polish idiom is reflected in the English versions of translated books. *The second aspect of this question is about the*

[11] Interestingly, the cultural turn also took place in Cold War Studies. As the editors of *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe 1945-1960* write: "[…] in the last few years there has been a gradual increase in studies that have made use of American and European sources for a more in-depth look at the complex mix of public and private organizations that operated from the 1940s onwards. This new wave of publications have [sic] shown a more sophisticated approach, revealing the complexity of the issues, the diversity among the various nations involved, and the uses of contributions from different academic disciplines, with end results that represent a move beyond the simple question of right and wrong in the Cold War. The entry into this field by scholars from disciplines such as sociology, literature, and media studies has been complemented by a gradual (if at times surprisingly reluctant) 'cultural turn' on the part of diplomatic historians themselves, for long sufficiently occupied with the examination of inter-governmental relations alone" (Krabbendam and Scott-Smith 2003: 3).

> *selection of what gets translated and why*. To answer the first question one would have to undertake a systematic corpus research with a sample of representative texts. However, since the period under consideration is short and the selection of literary texts from "small" literatures is always idiosyncratic, the outcome of this kind of research would be neither particularly useful nor incisive. *Perhaps at this stage in the evolution of the Polish literary polysystem, it is more important to ask how the response to the Polish changes is reflected in the change of book selection for translation in relation to the period before 1989*. (2007: 155; emphasis added)

In order to answer the question posed by Kuhiwczak, it would be necessary to compare translation trends before and after the caesura of 1989. The present dissertation is obviously only one of many ways in which the issue might be approached, as it is based on the same corpus of novels and short stories first published in Polish between 1945 and 1989. Thus, the present research is limited generically and, what is more, does not take into account old, pre-1945 books, or the body of new, post-1989 Polish writing. Nevertheless, it may hopefully provide at least a partial response to the problem signalled by Even-Zohar, according to whom:

> At the present stage of interference theory it does not seem possible to conclude under what conditions a target literature would tend to use a repertoire outdated or novel in the source. […]. At least we must admit that no research has been carried out on a sufficiently large scale in a large number of literatures to allow us the luxury of venturing solidly supportable generalizations. (1990b: 71)

Although the literary works analysed in this thesis cannot be described as "outdated," for they are still read and often reprinted or republished in other forms, such as audiobooks or e-books, they are certainly not "novel" in the repertoire of Polish literature. More importantly, because they date back to the times of the Polish People's Republic, they are only sporadically promoted, even by the Book Institute, occupied mainly with advocating the most recent literature. While linguistic as well as cognitive barriers may have formed serious restraints for some of these works to have been rendered into English, more often than not it was the extra-literary factors, political, social or economic, which decided whether a given piece of literature stood a chance of being adopted into the target culture. With the external circumstances changed, the appreciation of the hitherto disregarded texts might alter as well if only present-day translation commissioners took the effort to search for the overlooked jewels of Polish literature. As Jarosław Anders pointed out, bearing in mind Witold Gombrowicz,

"the best works of 'secondary cultures' usually see the light of day as artifacts of cultural archaeology" (2009: 50).[12]

The changing evaluation of literary works is a fascinating area of research. In July 1958, during the working sessions of the 1st International Conference of Translators of Literary Works held in Warsaw, Edmund Ordon, Professor of Slavonic languages at Wayne State University in Detroit and translator of Polish literature into English, stated:

> […] the very complexity of the translator's task should lead him today to ask whether there are any first principles which should serve him and, indeed, all translators in their frequently misunderstood and insufficiently appreciated work. […] The first principle seems to me self-evident. No unworthy literary work ought to be or should be translated. The cardinal sin which a translator may not commit is to make available in another language a work which should not have been published in its native tongue. On first thought, I suppose there would be general agreement with this principle, or, put differently, general condemnation of this sin. (in: Rusinek 1959: 92-93)[13]

Simple, as the proposition put forward by Ordon might have seemed, he was aware of its fallacy, since: "[…] the moment we look beyond this principle, we hesitate before such wholesale condemnation" (ibid.: 93). Hence, Ordon asked:

> What are the criteria determining worth? Who establishes these criteria? What purposes are they intended to serve? We enter here the complicated domain of taste and standards, and as soon as we step into it, we are forced to recognize different kinds of worth. (ibid.)

Indeed, the worth which a given literary work depends on most immediately is defined by such literary components as its language and contents. While the former defines how the story is told, the latter constitutes its plot. The linguistic quality is judged by its novelty or schematism. On this level, innovative or traditional techniques of expression might be employed, depending on the author's skills and their inner motivation, which may follow or go against the grain of external expectations. The axiological value of these techniques differs

[12] Referring to his *Ferdydurke* (1937-38) being initially rejected by the French publisher Julliard, Gombrowicz remarked: "How outrageous! The only contemporary Polish novel which could become a success abroad. […] It seems that in order to be translated, a Pole has to write about bolsheviks. Hopeless!" (Giedroyc and Gombrowicz 2006: 172; trans. mine). Consequently, Gombrowicz suggested two solutions: either another publisher should be found, or Americans should cover part of the publication costs (ibid.). The French translation of *Ferdydurke* eventually appeared in 1958, brought out by Julliard.

[13] The publication entitled *PEN Bulletin du Centre Polonais: première rencontre internationale des traducteurs littéraires à Varsovie* (1959), edited by Michał Rusinek, contains post-conference papers and proceedings presented in two language versions: French and English. All quotations come from the original English-language version of Ordon's text.

from culture to culture and is prone to change with time. Preferences for the work's contents may also be determined by internal or external circumstances – social, political or financial.[14] Wacław Osadnik thus summarised Yury Tynianov's observation of the above phenomenon:

> Tynianov demonstrates that literary evolution is never based on recognized aesthetic values, but is determined by the constant struggle of new values against old ones. Moreover, the literary consciousness ("soznaniye") of any particular period recognizes the tensions between minor and major genres. Consequently, such a consciousness may perceive all of the results of this struggle as an innovation or an archaism. Based on the above, Tynianov and his followers have claimed that literature is a dynamic construct rooted in language (or languages – in the case of a multilingual society). Therefore, a literary text is not an isolated, static fact, but a very specific, dynamic communicative process related to culture, religion, tradition, etc. (1996: 211)

The passage above highlights these points in Tynianov's reasoning which had laid solid foundations for the more contemporary polysystem theory formulated by Itamar Even-Zohar.[15] However, polysystemic studies additionally encompass aspects originally marginalised by Tynianov, who thus recapitulated the hypotheses put forward in his essay "On Literary Evolution" (originally written in 1927):

> To summarize, the study of literary evolution is possible only in relation to literature as a system, interrelated with other systems and conditioned by them. Investigation must go from constructional function to literary function; from literary function to verbal function. It must clarify the problem of the evolutionary interaction of functions and forms. The study of evolution must move from the literary system to the nearest correlated systems,[16] not the distant, even though major systems. In this way the prime significance of major social factors is not at all discarded. Rather, it must be elucidated to its full extent through the problem of the evolution of literature. This is in contrast to

[14] Apart from the worth of the work itself, Ordon distinguished the worth of the writer and the worth of the audience (in: Rusinek 1959: 93-95). At the end of his talk, he gave an example of an English translation of a Polish poem which was "a deplorable one, so deplorable in fact that the English version alone [would] demonstrate that the translator made an unworthy choice and that the translation [was] no more worthy than the original. It [was] a poem by the Polish poetess Blanka Grabowska, translated by Blanche Ciak" (ibid.: 98). On the other hand, the translations worthy of appreciation were done by Ordon himself from such recognised Polish poets as Cyprian Kamil Norwid, Józef Czechowicz and Adam Mickiewicz (ibid.: 99-102). Ordon's tendentious juxtaposition of poems belonging to completely different orders and domains (personal vs national, private vs missionary, facetious vs prophetic) might be justified only be the relatively early stage of development of the theory of translation, years before the proposition of the, broadly understood, *skopos* theory.

[15] See the Introduction to Itamar Even-Zohar's *Polysystem Studies* / *Poetics Today* 1990, 11:1, 1-6. Paradoxically, Even-Zohar's development of Yury Tynianov's systemo-functional model of formalism (together with works by Boris Eikhenbaum, Roman Jakobson and Petr Bogatyrev referred to by the Israeli scholar as Dynamic Functionalism) is reminiscent of Vissarion Belinsky's understanding of literature as a socio-political product, which preceded works by the Russian Formalists.

[16] By "the nearest correlated systems," or "the neighbouring orders," Tynianov understands social conventions (Tynianov 2002: 73).

> the establishment of the direct "influence" of major social factors, which replaces the study of *evolution* of literature with the study of the *modification* of literary works – that is to say, of their deformation. (2002: 77)

Most probably, Tynianov's stress on the opposition between literary evolution, as stemming from the gradual change of social conventions, and literary revolution, or modification, should be attributed to the political situation in the Soviet Union at the time when his paper was originally published and when the direct influence on literature by major social factors was already acutely painful, leading to the deformation of literary works.[17] However, in some cases the borderline between Tynianov's notion of literary evolution and that of its modification might be very difficult to demarcate.[18] Tynianov, nevertheless, was right about the destructive quality of the direct influence on literature exerted by the major systems, e.g. politics, which more often than not amounts to manipulation. As a result, not only individual works are deformed, when their reception or production is limited to a shallow interpretative key, but the image of the whole body of literature is transfigured too.

In contrast, in the polysystem theory, as defined by Even-Zohar, the study of the direct influence of major social factors on literature is equally entitled as that of social conventions, since the polysystemic inter-relations

> involve two kinds of adjacent systems: (a) a larger whole belonging to the same community, and (b) a whole, or its parts, which belongs to other communities, *either of the same order (sort) or not*. In case (a), such a view is based on the assumption that any socio-semiotic activity (or field) is a component of a larger (poly)system – that of "culture," and therefore is inevitably correlated (or constantly liable to correlation) with other systems pertaining to the same whole. As for case (b), i.e., the correlations a system maintains with systems maintained by other communities, the same principle is valid. Just as an aggregate of phenomena operating for a certain community can be conceived of as a system constituting part of a larger polysystem, which, in turn, is just a component within the larger polysystem of the "total culture" of the said community, so can the latter maintain systemic relations with other systems organizing the "cultures" of other communities. In history, such "units" are by no means clear-cut or forever finalized. Rather, the opposite holds true, as *the borders separating adjacent systems shift all the time, not only within systems, but between them*. The very notions of "within" and "between" cannot be taken either statically or for granted. *In short, it is a major goal, and a workable task for the Polysystem theory, to deal with the particular conditions under which a certain culture may be interfered with by*

[17] The Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, whose role was the ideological supervision of literature, had already been established in 1925.

[18] The time factor and social readiness to accept the proposed or imposed changes could be decisive here. Such readiness, however, is never universal and might be differently motivated.

> *another culture, as a result of which repertoires are transferred from one polysystem to another*. (2010b: 48-49; emphasis added)

Even-Zohar's polysystem theory allows then to include factors from various orders of magnitude, belonging to different systems of different cultures, whenever they influenced the studied issue in a meaningful way. Rather than ignore the effect of major social factors on literature, the polysystemic approach recognises their historical role in shaping the reception and production of literary works, translations included. The most important advantage of this socio-political historical approach to studying literature, whether original or translated, is that it allows the forming of a larger picture of the most important cause-and-effect connections between various systems of the same or of many different cultures and that it places literary creation in the context of the real world, as postulated in the following quote:

> Once the historical nature of a system is recognized (a great merit from the point of view of constructing models closer to "the real world"), the transformation of historical objects into a series of uncorrelated a-historical occurrences is prevented. (ibid.: 42)

Although indeed it was works by Roman Jakobson,[19] Boris Eikhenbaum[20] and Yury Tynianov[21] which prepared the ground for conceiving of literature as a dynamic cultural construct, the consciousness of social dynamics based on the principle of change must have accompanied humanity for a very long time. Already discussed above, Tynianov's paper "On Literary Evolution" brings to mind not only the famous ideological conflicts in the domain of literature, e.g. between the Classicists and the Romanticists, it also evokes a wider social and psychological phenomenon constituting the subject of Cyprian Kamil Norwid's poetical piece "What have you done to Athens, Socrates…" (2011b: 105-107). Written in 1856, the poem is a moving observation of changing cultural values, be it political or literary. The poem itself evaluates some of the historical figures in a manner very different from today's perspective. What stays unchallenged, though, is the awareness of society's altering attitudes evident in

[19] "O khudozhestvennom realizme," first published in Jakobson's Czech translation as "O realismu v umění," 1921; English translation by Karol Magassy: "On Realism in Art," 1962. See Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska (eds), *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views*, Chicago and Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 2002, 38-46.

[20] "Teorya 'formalnogo metoda'," first published in Ukrainian in 1926; English translation by I. R. Titunik: "The Theory of the 'Formal Method'," 1971 and "Literaturny byt," 1927; English translation by I. R. Titunik: "Literary Environment," 1971. See Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska (eds), *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views,* Chicago, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 2002, 3-37 and 56-65.

[21] "O literaturnoy evolutsy," 1927; English translation by C. A. Luplov: "On Literary Evolution," 1971. See Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska (eds), *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views,* Chicago and Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 2002, 66-78.

the poet's conclusion about his own works being ahead of his times, expressed in "Vade-mecum" (1865): "My son – will skirt this work, but you, grandson, will note, / […] / So will *he* read again what you read today, / And will recall me… when I'll be no more!" (2011a: 19).

The change in perception of literary works and other areas of social or cultural life is a universal phenomenon. In her analysis of the Cold War's influence on the world of arts and letters, Frances Stonor Saunders gives the following example from the United States:

> The year 1964 was a bad one for Cold Warriors. The myths upon which they relied were being systematically exploded. First there was the publication of *The Spy Who Came In from the Cold*.[22] […] This was followed by Stanley Kubrick's film *Dr. Strangelove*, which satirized the Cold War ideology. […] By 1964, these people [Cold Warriors] were already walking anachronisms […] With the rise of the New Left and the Beats, the cultural outlaws who had existed on the margins of American society now entered the mainstream, bringing with them a contempt for what William Burroughs called a "snivelling, mealy-mouthed tyranny of bureaucrats, social workers, psychiatrists and union officials." Joseph Heller in *Catch-22* suggested that what America deemed sanity was actually madness. (2013: 302-303)

Unfortunately, what proved to be the groundbreaking caesura in the predominant narration in books (and films) produced originally in the United States, did not correspond to the Cold War poetics sought for in literature imported *via* translation from Eastern Europe until 1989. In other words, although in 1964 the widespread red-scare witch hunt on US ground was over, or at least significantly restrained, the fight for supremacy on the international arena was yet to continue for the next quarter of a century. Since Anglo-American translation commissioners were looking mainly for literature which could attest both to the real and the alleged superiority of the capitalist West over the communist East, Polish writers were divided:

> into the "good" ones – who went abroad – and "collaborators" – who stayed on under the regime. […] The ones who chose to remain in their country for various reasons were often considered "traitors," especially by those who left and became celebrated dissidents in the West. (Zaborowska 1995: 319, n.23)

Consequently, the "good authors" were gladly translated and published in English, while works by "collaborators" stood no chance of entering the Anglophone literary polysystem. Naturally, this simplistic black-and-white division did a lot of harm to those writers who were

[22] John le Carré, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, London: Victor Gollancz, 1963.

neither collaborators nor traitors, who, for various, often patriotic, reasons chose to live in Poland under Soviet domination, as well as to those who were born there after the war. By contrast:

> some Polish women's [and men's] writings may seem especially interesting to us nowadays, after the failure of the communist state and after the dismantling of the "curtain" *that used to segregate international texts according to their political and ideological value*. […] after the failure of the communist regimes, the "posttotalitarian" mind[23] can be appreciated openly and without the political constraints that would often acknowledge dissidents or "collaborators with the regime," *but hardly ever those men and women who wrote simply about their lives*. (ibid.: 179; emphasis added)

The awareness of the fact that before 1990 value judgements, applied to Polish literature by many Anglo-American publishers, editors and translators, depended on major political factors, helps to understand why some of the most meaningful works of Polish fiction from the analysed period were rejected or never drew their attention. Even more importantly, the politicised image of Polish literature of the years 1945-1989 must have strengthened the general reluctance of the contemporary publishing business to promote literary works belonging to the old repertoire, thus further diminishing the chance of noteworthy Polish novels and short stories of that period to be presently discovered for and by the English-language readership.

[23] Zaborowska uses the term "posttotalitarian mind" after Jeffrey C. Goldfarb, "who argues that in countries such as Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia the resistance to the regime and to its Newspeak created an alternative posttotalitarian frame of mind under communist domination. He singles out Poland as creating the most advanced posttotalitarian political and cultural situation" (Zaborowska 1995: 319, n. 23). See Jeffrey C. Goldfarb, *Beyond Glasnost: The Post-Totalitarian Mind*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989, 161-169. *Beyond Glasnost* was reprinted in 1991 with a new preface.

Chapter One

Polish and Anglo-American Literary Polysystems in the Context of Polish-English Translation: A Historical Overview

The dynamics between the Polish and Anglophone literary polysystems are a multifaceted and complex phenomenon. Even if studied in the limited context of a one-directional Polish-English transfer of novels and short stories, published originally between 1945 and 1989 and subsequently translated, or not, into English between 1945 and 2015, the relations between the two polysystems were defined by both literary as well as extra-literary factors.

Until 1989, the ideological struggle between the East and the West, communism and capitalism, socialism and economic liberalism had a direct impact on what kind of Polish narratives were promoted for translation by the Polish side, or even brought out in Poland in English rendition, and which works were actually sought after and accepted into English-language literature by the host cultures. Not surprisingly, in that period the selection key had mostly a political nature. Affected by Cold War politics, publishing policies applied to Polish literature in Poland and those applied to it abroad or in Polish underground circulation, were frequently of an antithetical nature, their vectors pointing in the opposite directions. Narratives testifying to Polish achievements in terms of economic development, social security, mass education and the demise of a class society were either ignored or immediately countered by émigré publications and English translations of works on topics forbidden on home ground, most often connected with Soviet crimes, thus giving evidence to the political oppression in the people's democracy that Poland claimed to be.

In order to advocate their respective ideologies, communist and capitalist countries alike developed a parallel system of sponsoring (or simply holding a monopoly on) publishing houses, printing books and magazines (either in the original or in translation), granting literary and translation awards, bestowing scholarships and stipends, and organising conferences and workshops.[1] The main difference was that of transparency. While the communists openly steered the cultural policy in the desired direction, the capitalists, American in particular, acted on the sly. The same principle of overt and covert operations applied to the usage of censorship as a tool for exerting power by both sides of the political

[1] See Appendices 1 (p. 295) and 2 (p. 299).

conflict. Since "freedom" was the key word employed in the Western discourse against the Soviet Union and its satellite states, censorship in the West could not be used officially. As the American art critic Harold Rosenberg wrote:

> The cold war is a delusionary struggle between real interests. […] The joke of the cold war is that each of the rivals is aware that the other's idea would be irresistible if it were actually put into practice. (…) The West wants freedom to the extent that freedom is compatible with private ownership and with profits; the Soviets want socialism to the extent that socialism is compatible with the dictatorship of the Communist bureaucracy. (…) [In fact,] revolutions in the twentieth century are for freedom *and* socialism (…) a realistic politics is essential, a politics which would get rid once and for all of the fraud of freedom versus socialism. (qtd in: Stonor Saunders 2013: 348-349)

Unfortunately, the Cold War atmosphere, based on the false opposition between freedom and social justice, penetrated into the Western perception of Polish literature and led to the disregard of many interesting and valuable works of writing from People's Poland. Only after the 1989 caesura did a couple of previously ignored narratives emerge in English rendition, something that had little chance of happening before. However, many are still unknown or forgotten, mainly because their authors, who have already passed away, are no longer promoted for translation.

The description of the Polish and Anglo-American literary polysystems, presented below in the context of Polish-English translation and publishing policies, is organised around a temporal division which corresponds to distinctive periods in the postwar political history of Poland. Even though works by émigré writers are also taken into account, it was the politics of the Polish People's Republic which had the most immediate impact on which literary works were published on home ground, as well as abroad, and on the selection of works for English translation before and after 1989, when the political obstacles to translation dissapeared. The overview of the postwar period, encompassing the years 1945-2015, is preceded with a brief sketch of the interwar years, 1918-1939, illustrating the early engagement of Polish men and women of letters in the championship of literary translation and providing the necessary backdrop to the postwar continuum of their activities.[2] Any major events regarding Polish-English literary translation in the Anglo-American polysystem are

[2] Although the Second World War brutally interrupted the steady development of Polish culture, with German and Soviet occupiers systematically annihilating intellectuals and artists, cultural activities continued underground and in exile. See Anna Nasiłowska, "Maria Kuncewiczowa i Polski PEN Club 1939-1943" [in:] Adam Pomorski (ed.) *Polski PEN Club 1925-2005: Księga Pamiątkowa*, Warszawa: OPEN, 2005, 307-328.

approximately accommodated within the distinguished historical periods in Polish history, at times going beyond the period frames for the need of clarity and coherent argumentation.

1.1. The Interwar Period: 1918-1939

The discrepancy between the rich tradition of Polish literature and the small range of its comprehensibility in the original, prompted Poland to discern the importance of translation at a very early stage in its modern history. One of the first translation patronage projects, which Poland actively supported, was *Index Translationum*, the database of book translations, established by the League of Nations in 1932. Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski, Polish diplomat, writer and translator, was, among others, on its Founding Committee. No one had realised at that time that culture would soon become one of the battlefields in the Second World War with books used as ideological weapons and their authors declared either allies or enemies of the state, depending on their political affiliations. In 1946, after the war ended, the United Nations superseded the League of Nations and UNESCO was assigned the *Index*. Today, *Index Translationum* is a useful source of reference for studying flows and trends in translation.[3]

In 1918, when Poland regained its independence after 123 years of partition among Prussia, Austria and Russia, Stefan Żeromski put forward a project concerning the establishment of the Polish Academy of Literature.[4] The idea came to fruition in 1933, eight years after Żeromski's death, when *Polska Akademia Literatury* was officially inaugurated.[5] Active until the outbreak of the Second World War, PAL provided official support to Polish arts and letters at home, as well as to their promotion abroad. Among others, the Academy bestowed two of the highest national awards for contributing to the development of Polish literature: the Golden and the Silver Laurels, awarded between 1935 and 1938. Jadwiga Beck, a writer and journalist, wife of the pre-war Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Józef Beck,

[3] *Index Translationum* has also its online version, which "contains cumulative bibliographical information on books translated and published […] since 1979. […] The references registered before 1979 can be found in the printed editions of the *Index Translationum*, available in all national depository libraries and at the UNESCO library in Paris." http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=7810&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

[4] Stefan Żeromski, *Projekt Akademii Literatury Polskiej*, Warszawa: Red. "Myśli Polskiej," 1918.

[5] The Academy quickly became an important institution for official state propaganda, promoting the authoritarian rule of Marshal Józef Piłsudski (1867-1935), until his death the Academy's honorary member. In the years 1936-1938, the categories for which the Golden Laurel was awarded included one for "the literary and publishing activities abroad promoting the writings and thought of the First Marshal of Poland, Józef Piłsudski" (M.P. 1936: poz. 460; M.P. 1937: poz. 406; M.P. 1938: poz. 606). Some of the writers who opposed Piłsudski's dictatorship gathered in the unofficial *Akademia Niezależnych* (the Academy of the Independent), which established its own awards (Rusinek 1982: 17-18).

was one of the recipients of the Academic Silver Laurel for organising exhibitions of Polish literature in foreign translation (Rusinek 1982: 42). 

However, since 1925, when Stefan Żeromski established the Polish PEN Club, these were the International PEN gatherings which became a global forum where Poland promoted its interest in first-rate translations.[6] Initially preoccupied solely with original literary creation, it took some time before the International PEN Club finally acknowledged the vital role which translators play in transferring texts from one language and culture and grafting them into another. When in 1934, at the International PEN Congress in Edinburgh, the issues of translation quality control, translation patronage and the translator's role in culture were raised, H. G. Wells, the President of the International and English PEN Clubs, refused to discuss these topics by remarking that translators had their own guild to care for such matters. In response, Polish delegates shared their experience of granting awards for literary translations into and from the Polish (since 1929 and 1930 respectively) in order to elevate the prestige of the translator and to secure a professional level of renditions. The news of the practice was received with surprise by other delegations. Jan Parandowski, for many years the President of the Polish PEN Club, reminisced with humour that neither English, American, nor French writers had seemed to have realised that they were read outside their countries in translation rather than in the original (Parandowski 1955: 11).

Naturally, the question of how translations should be assessed immediately arises, especially in the case of a jury not familiar with the language of the original text. As Bronisław Zieliński, the longtime President of the Polish PEN Club's Translators' Section, remarked some years later in the context of literary criticism:

> Literary critics who neglect translations and translators often plead as a reason that they do not know the language of the original. This is not at all convincing. Knowledge of the language of the original is indispensable, indeed, in the case of a philological analysis, but not for a purely literary review. A translation belongs in the first place to the literature of the country in which it is published. To assess its literary value there is no absolute necessity to check it, word by word, with the original. Certainly and beyond all doubt, it is not necessary to have the original to hand in order to recognise a very good or a very bad translation. (in: Rusinek 1959: 86-87)

The above approach may well be applied to the assessment of literary works nominated for translation awards, since such renditions are usually, although not always,

[6] One such gathering, the 8th International PEN Club Congress, took place in 1930 in Warsaw.

evaluated at the target end of the literary exchange.[7] In this case, the double ontological status of a translated literary work, being at once a translation of a source text and an original creation in the target language, is especially pronounced.

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, no English-language translators received the Polish PEN Club Award, although some who were to be acknowledged later, such as Arthur Prudden Coleman and Marion Moore Coleman, were already active in the field of Polish-English literary transfer at that time. Arthur Coleman's work, however, was recognised in 1939 by the Polish Academy of Literature, from which he received the Academic Golden Laurel for promoting Polish literature and culture in the United States. It is important to stress that the Polish PEN Club Awards for Translation were the first literary translation prizes awarded on an annual basis in the world (Rusinek 1982: 258) and that many countries followed the Polish example in this respect (Parandowski 1965: vii). From the beginning the Awards were financed from the Polish state budget for culture.

1.2. 1945–1948

After the Second World War, patronage over literary translation in Poland was resumed to a large extent by the same circle of writers and translators who were actively engaged in the Polish PEN Club before 1939. Among them were Zofia Nałkowska (1884-1954), Maria Dąbrowska (1889-1965), Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz (1894-1980), Jan Parandowski (1895-1978), Maria Kuncewiczowa (1895-1989)[8] and Michał Rusinek (1904-2001), to list only the most significant names. In 1948, the Polish PEN Club presented the first postwar award for the rendition of Polish literature into foreign languages, a custom initiated eighteen years earlier.[9]

The years enclosed by the end of the war on one end and the imposition of socialist-realism esthetics, seen as the sole acceptable creative method, on the other were a period of relative, if already limited, liberalism in Polish literature. Czesław Miłosz wrote that in the newly formed communist Poland "[t]he status of the writer was affected. His profession was now well remunerated; in exchange, he was held to account for every word" (1983: 453).

[7] The name of the American Best Translated Book Award, bestowed since 2008 by *Three Percent*, the online literary magazine of Open Letter Books, is probably the best illustration of the principle for assessing translations put forward by Zieliński, in which the translated book is evaluated in its own right.

[8] A resident alien in the United States since 1955 (naturalised in 1960), Kuncewiczowa was first able to visit Poland in July 1958 as a member of the American delegation to the 1st International Conference of Translators of Literary Works. Afterwards, the writer regularly visited Poland, to stay here for good in 1968.

[9] In 1948 the award went to the Czech poet and translator František Halas for his renditions of works by Adam Mickiewicz. Halas also translated works by Juliusz Słowacki. The first postwar Polish PEN Club Award for a Polish-English rendition was given in 1966 to Henry Charles Stevens.

Communist censorship already started operating in Poland in 1944 and in 1946, when the Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances was established, it was enforced officially. However, "a watchful eye was kept out only for some clearly defined forbidden topics" (ibid.: 453), such as the Soviet aggression on Poland in 1939 and its ensuing occupation, Soviet camps, Polish officers gone missing in the USSR, the lack of help from the Red Army during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, the atrocities of the "brotherly nation" against Polish civilians, as well as devastation, rapes and looting committed by the Soviets during and after the war. At the same time, "[w]riters were left free to find their own methods" of exploring "what literature should be in a country aiming at socialism" (ibid.), a country which still bore the official name of the Republic of Poland (changed into the People's Republic of Poland in 1952). Miłosz wrote: "Those were fecund years for literature, and while writers who had made their way before the war played a leading role, its organic growth was not hampered" (ibid.). Indeed, even Zofia Kossak, an exile writer in the years 1945-1957, could publish her books in Poland until 1948.[10] As Leszek Kołakowski wrote:

> Communism, although imposed by another foreign power, was not without indigenous roots and could not simply be seen as another "occupation." For the first three years after the war, independent political parties operated legally in Poland, and university and cultural life, though controlled, was not yet subject to the devastations of Stalinism. The country was in ruin, and it was the Communists in power who undertook the immense task of its restoration. Moreover, Communist ideology itself bore traces of rationalism as well as the prewar radicalism that had attracted many intellectuals by providing an alternative to the deeply conservative strains in Polish culture. Thus many intellectuals and writers in the postwar period found themselves in the Communist party, and although most of them sooner or later dropped out of it […] they often experienced confused guilt as a result of their own changing allegiances during this period of political and moral ambiguity. (1976: vii)

On the other hand, there were a number of writers who, after the war ended, chose emigration, establishing, in 1946, their own organisation, Związek Pisarzy Polskich na Obczyźnie (the Union of Polish Writers in Exile). In 1947, the Union passed a resolution

[10] In 1945, Zofia Kossak, a writer of historical novels, concerned with the early history of the church and Christianity, was persuaded by Jakub Berman, the new Polish Minister of the Interior, to leave Poland in order to avoid stricter measures against the pre-war bourgeoisie. This was an act of mercy in turn for Kossak's involvement in saving Jewish lives during the war. At the height of the stalinist period, in 1951, all her books were forbidden and withdrawn from Polish libraries and bookshops (Żmigrodzki 2002: 21). It was only after the political changes of 1956 that her writings were brought out in Poland again. In 1957 she returned to her family estate in Poland.

which forbade émigré writers to publish anything in communist-controlled Poland, even before the doctrine of socialist realism in literature was introduced. As a result, an unbridgeable divide was created between the two literary worlds: at home and abroad, made significantly deeper during the stalinist period of 1949-1955, when exiled writers could not be officially published in Poland. In turn, writers who broke away from the Union's resolution, those who decided to go back to Poland, those who remained in their country of origin or even those who started their literary careers in the new reality of postwar Poland, were either ostracised or ignored by the Polish diaspora in the West.

When in 1946 Maria Kuncewiczowa, the Vice-President of the Polish PEN Club residing in London, gave her *interim* prerogatives of the wartime leader of this organisation back to Jan Parandowski, who survived the war in Warsaw, she was heavily criticised in some émigré circles for that decision (Kuncewiczowa 1979: 31'10"-31'35").[11] The fact that the work on a five-volume edition of *Polonica Zagraniczne* (Foreign Polonica) encompassing the years 1939-1955 could only be started in the early 1970s (to be completed in 2003) also testifies to the postwar split of Polish literature (Bilikiewicz-Blanc 2008: xvi).

1.3. 1949–1955

The years 1949–1955 marked the period when the political, economic and cultural life in Poland was openly reorganised after the Soviet pattern:

> [In January 1949] the doctrine of Socialist Realism was imposed by Party decree.[12] Works that deviated from the line had not the slightest chance of publication. Sterilized, reduced to an imitation of Soviet models, literature went stale and gray. The period from 1949 until the end of 1955 left few books [among those published in Poland] deserving of attention. (Miłosz 1983: 453)

In his essay *On Socialist Realism* (first published in English in 1960), Andrei Sinyavsky, a Russian writer, dissident and political prisoner, writing under the pseudonym

[11] Being practically-minded, instead of engaging in nationalist disputes, Kuncewiczowa plunged into activities of the International PEN Club, subsequently co-founding, in 1950, the International PEN Centre for Writers in Exile, of which she was President until 1955, when she decided to leave the United Kingdom for the United States.

[12] The socialist realism doctrine in literature was declared official at the 4th convention of the Polish Writers' Trade Union in Szczecin in January 1949. During the convention the Trade Union (founded in 1920 by Stefan Żeromski) was transformed into the Polish Writers' Union subordinate to the Ministry of Culture. Fortunately for Polish culture, soon after Stalin's death, the doctrine began to falter.

Abram Tertz, quotes the definition of socialist realism given in a statute of the Union of Soviet Writers:

> Socialist realism is the basic method of Soviet literature and literary criticism. It demands of the artist the truthful, historically accurate representation of reality in its revolutionary development. Moreover, the truthfulness and historical correctness of the artistic representation of reality must be linked with the task of idealogical transformation and education of workers in the spirit of socialism (First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers, 1934, p. 716). (1982: 148)

As evidenced by the above description, apart from being extremely limited, socialist realism was also self-contradictory. As a result, the grim ideological doctrine stifled artistic creativity and many writers chose either exile, "internal emigration," or "confined themselves to the theme of the past […], such as certain Catholic novelists" (Barańczak 1990: 70).

The situation of Translation Studies in Poland of that time was much better. It was then that the theoretical approach to translation gained a firm grounding among Polish scholars in the field. Although Edward Balcerzan dates the beginning of the theoretical school from "after 1955," ealier distinguishing the comparative (until 1921) and analytical (1922-1954) approaches, these time frames are not very precise, not to mention the fact that the year 1955 seems not to belong anywhere in such a classification. Nevertheless, as Balcerzan points out, the proposed periods refer to the dominant school, since the new type of focus never eliminated the preceding one(s) (1998: 198). The critic himself recognises the fact that some of the most important theoretical articles "had been written in the years of socialist realism dictatorship and vulgar Marxism" (ibid.: 202; trans. mine). This is how Balcerzan described the origin of the theoretical phase in Polish studies on translation:

> The period of socialist realism in literature and vulgar socialism in the study of literature (1946-1954) did not limit Translation Studies to the same extent as other branches of the humanities in Poland. […] Translation as the subject of scholarly and critical reflection did not engender opposition from the administrators of cultural and academic life: referred to the past, it was protected as part of the "struggle for the Polish language," referred to the future, it used the socio-educational ideology, promoting "cheap books" for the masses, books translated from literatures and times perceived as revolutionary, or from Soviet literature. The breakthrough event in Translation Studies in Poland came with the publication of the volume *O sztuce tłumaczenia* [1955, On the Art of Translation], which proved to be one of the important harbingers of the "thaw." (ibid.; trans. mine)

The collection *O sztuce tłumaczenia*, edited by Michał Rusinek (1955), was the outcome of three series of lectures on literary translation initiated by the Polish PEN Club. The lectures were delivered by the most renowned theorists and practitioners of translation, many of them original writers themselves. The pioneering idea for organising such courses, which bore the official name of *Studium Przekładowe* (Translation Studies), coincided with the publication, in 1950, of Julian Tuwim's pre-war manuscript, *Pegaz dęba*, where the poet's famous essay "Traduttore-traditore" belongs. In it, Tuwim "castigated incompetent translators and put forward a proposal for organising regular diploma courses for translators. Tuwim suggested that candidates should pass a series of examinations on language, stylistics and culture; only those who successfully completed the course would then be allowed to publish their work" (Tabakowska 2011: 507). However, the aim of the lectures in *Studium Przekładowe,* given for the total of about two thousand listeners in all three courses, was different. The organisers of the three series of lectures on literary translation, Jan Parandowski and Michał Rusinek, wanted first and foremost to raise the awareness of the course participants about what translation was and what it meant to be a good translator (Rusinek 1955: 443). This fact highlights the idealistic rather than ideological nature of the whole enterprise. The first two courses were held in Warsaw, the third one in Kraków, in the years 1950-1953.[13] These dates testify to the continuum between, or co-existence of the two trends, analytical and theoretical, recognised by Balcerzan. Of the latter trend the scholar wrote:

> The volume *O sztuce tłumaczenia*, brought six theoretical articles: by [Wacław] Borowy, Stanisław Furmanik, Kazimierz Kumaniecki, Zofia Szmydtowa, and the most important ones by Zenon Klemensiewicz, "Przekład jako zagadnienie językoznawstwa" [Translation as a Problem in Linguistics], and by Roman Ingarden, "O tłumaczeniach" [On Translations]. From then on the theory of translation became the theory of translation complexity, concerned with the unveiling of new aspects and contexts of translation mechanics, unappreciated or ignored by positivist and impressionist criticism. (1998: 202; trans. mine)

The papers contained in *O sztuce tłumaczenia* are a testimony to the existence of a vibrant intellectual life in Poland even in the stalinist period, but the fact that they were published only after the dictator was no more among the living is telling.[14]

[13] The first *Studium Przekładowe* started on 12th March 1950 (Parandowski 1955: 11), the third one ended on 21st December 1953 (Rusinek 1955: 437).

[14] Although during the 1st International Conference of Translators of Literary Works in 1958 Edmund Ordon expressed the hope that before long *O sztuce tłumaczenia* would be translated into numerous languages (Rusinek 1959: 91), such translations never appeared.

After Stalin's death in March 1953, Poland started working on creating its positive image in the Western world by new means. Colourful periodicals or magazines on economy and culture, printed in Poland, started appearing in foreign languages. The *Polska* magazine, containing translations of literary pieces by Polish writers, was available for subscribers at home and abroad. It was published in Polish, English, French, German, Russian, Spanish, Swedish and Czech.[15] The publication of *Poland* was part of the cultural and political battle meant to attract people to socialism. In her bibliography of Polish literature in English translation, Marion Moore Coleman characterised the magazine as an: "Illustrated monthly published in Warsaw for propaganda purposes, lavishly illustrated and well edited" (1963: vii). The magazine promoted Poland as a fast developing modern country with a rich cultural heritage, at the same time setting new cultural trends, also in literature. Until December 1955, prose pieces by Jerzy Putrament, Mieczysław Jastrun, Bohdan Czeszko, Jan Parandowski, Marian Brandys, Janusz Meissner and Stanisław Lem were published there in all available language versions.[16] Moreover, starting with January 1962, every issue of *Poland* featured a column devoted to new Polish publications, also in the field of fiction, and to translated Polish books published abroad. Unfortunately, the magazine never printed the names of the translators or foreign language editors. Bearing in mind that Fred Rose, a communist politician and a former Canadian MP convicted of spying for the Soviet Union, was the first English-language editor of the *Poland* magazine, this may have been for political reasons.[17]

The publisher of the magazine, the Polonia Publishing House, first known as the Polonia Foreign Languages Publishing House (not to be confused with Polonia Publishers,

[15] Between March and December 1957 *Polska* was also available in Esperanto. The Polish version of the magazine (*Polska: czasopismo ilustrowane*) started appearing in 1954 to be suspended from January 1982, after martial law was introduced in December 1981. It was reactivated between October 1998 and March 1999. The English-language edition (*Poland: Illustrated Magazine*) for subscribers in Europe, as well as the French, German and Spanish versions of the periodical were available between 1954 and 1989. Subscribers from the Americas, Australia and Asia could enjoy the English edition of the magazine from May 1959 to December 1981. The Russian-language *Polsha* was published between 1954 and December 1990. The Swedish version of the periodical came out between 1960 and 1981, followed by the Czech *Polsko*, available between 1961 and 1981. The information about the Russian and Czech editions was not given in Western-language versions of the magazine.

[16] After the October Thaw, the magazine also featured literary texts by such writers as Jan Józef Szczepański, associated with *Tygodnik Powszechny* ("Shoes," trans. by Janina Rodzińska, orig. "Buty," *Poland* 6, 1959, 13-16 and 24-27), or the émigré author Tadeusz Nowakowski ("Born of the Plague," trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, orig. "Syn zadżumionych," *Poland* 9, 1959, 13-18 and 26-32).

[17] Born in 1907 in Lublin, Poland (Levy 2011: 39), Rose "came to Canada with his parents in 1920," where "[i]n 1925 he joined the Young Communist League" (*Report of the Royal Commission…* 1946: 112). "[A]rrested in March 1946 and sentenced to six years in prison for his espionage activities," Rose "left Canada after serving four and a half years of his sentence, moving to Czechoslovakia and later to Poland. His Canadian citizenship was revoked in 1957" ("Fred Rose…" 1983). Brief mention of Fred Rose's job as the editor of *Poland* can be found in: David Levy, *Stalin's Man in Canada: Fred Rose and Soviet Espionage*, New York, NY: Enigma Books, 2011, 195, 199, 203. Erroneously, Levy refers to the English version of the magazine as the magazine *Polonia* (ibid.).

active in the 1980s), played a similar role of the positive propaganda tube to that of the Moscow-based Foreign Languages Publishing House. Like its Russian counterpart, the Polonia Publishing House knew no paper rations or printing-quality restrictions, at least in publications destined for the foreign market (Rudnicki 1956: 288). The Polish publishing house was called to life in 1954, in preparation for the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, remaining active until its fusion, in 1967, with the Western Press Agency and the Workers' Agency ARPRESS.[18]

Also *Towarzystwo Łączności z Wychodźstwem "Polonia"* (The Society for Relations with Poles Abroad "Polonia"), founded in Warsaw in 1955, was fashioned after the Soviet model, in this case the "Rodina" Society (Nitschke 2012: 160).[19] Two literary men, Antoni Słonimski and Arkady Fiedler, as well as Edward Kowalski, the Director of the Polonia Publishing House, were chosen for the Society's Main Board ("Utworzenie Towarzystwa Łączności…" 1955: 2). The "Polonia" Society brought out its own monthly *Panorama Polska* and the annual *Almanach Polonii* (1968-1993), also published in English and French. Norman Davies thus summarised the political activities of the Society in the field of culture:

> Like the *Sanacja*[20] leaders before the War, who launched the World Union of Poles Abroad, the leaders of the People's Republic made strenuous efforts to win over the *émigrés*. From modest beginnings in 1955, the "Polonia" Society in Warsaw had steadily expanded its activities, invites selected guests to Poland, tempts the younger generation with subsidised travel and summer courses, and indulges, through the Interpress Agency, in shameless propaganda. (2005: 213-214)

While certainly a tool of socialist propaganda, the activities of the "Polonia" Society were no more "shameless" than those conducted by its Western counterparts, both officially (by the USIA[21]) and secretly (by the CIA, DIA, or MI6), in response to the Soviet and its satellite countries' cultural and ideological self-promotion. Frances Stonor Saunders writes: "[…] the joke was that if any American philanthropic or cultural organization carried the words 'free' or 'private' in its literature, it must be a CIA front" (2013: 113). And indeed:

[18] The result of the fusion was the Polish Interpress Agency. In 1991 it was restructured and changed its name to the Polish Information Agency.

[19] In 1959, the name of the organisation was changed to *Towarzystwo Łączności z Polonią Zagraniczną "Polonia"* (Nitschke 2012: 160). The "Polonia" Society ceased to operate in 1989. In its stead Stowarzyszenie "Wspólnota Polska" was called to life in 1990.

[20] "'Sanacja' was the name given by Piłsudski to the movement that ruled Poland after his May 1926 coup. Literally 'sanitation' or 'purification,' the term symbolized Piłsudski's intention to lead the nation into moral and political reform" (Meiklejohn Terry 1983: 24, n. 14).

[21] The United States Information Agency (USIA) existed from 1953 to 1999. Overseas, it was known as the United States Information Service (USIS) in order to avoid unwanted connotations with the word "agency."

> In May 1949, Allen Dulles[22] presided over the formation of the National Committee for a Free Europe,[23] ostensibly the initiative of a "group of private American citizens," but in reality one of the CIA's most ambitious fronts.[24] […] [Its] declared purpose […] was "to use the many and varied skills of exiled East Europeans in the development of programs which will actively combat Soviet domination." Committed to "the belief that this struggle can be resolved as much by force of ideas as by physical means," the committee was soon to extend its reach into all areas of the cultural Cold War. "The State Department is very happy to see the formation of this group," announced Secretary of State Dean Acheson. "It thinks that the purpose of this organization is excellent, and is glad to welcome its entrance into this field and give it its hearty endorsement." This public blessing was intended to mask the official origins of the committee and the fact that it operated solely at the discretion of the CIA, which provided 90 percent of its financial support through unvouchered funds. (ibid.: 108-109)

Between 1950 and 1975 the NCFE-FEC supervised the publication of the monthly *News from behind the Iron Curtain*, known, since 1957, under a more conciliatory title: *East Europe*.[25] Next to strictly political articles and essays, poems and narratives of a political nature sporadically appeared in the magazine, too. *East Europe*'s publisher, Free Europe Press, described it as "a monthly review of political, economic, social and intellectual trends and events in the Soviet orbit," in which information was "derived in the main from East European sources" (Publisher's Imprint 1957: ii). Most often, the English translations of pieces by Polish authors were anonymous.

Another Western periodical concerned with cultural propaganda, which appeared at that time, was *Encounter*. Sponsored jointly by the CIA and MI6, the magazine was the flagship intellectual English-language journal, addressed to the non-communist left, published in the United Kingdom between 1953 and 1990. Officially, *Encounter* was financed by the Paris-based Congress for Cultural Freedom, founded in 1950 in West Berlin.[26] The Congress itself was "one of the CIA's more daring and effective Cold War covert operations" (Warner

[22] Allen Dulles (1893-1969) was "[o]ne of the longest-serving directors of the Central Intelligence Agency (1953-1961)." See http://findingaids.princeton.edu/collections/MC019. His older brother, John Foster Dulles (1888-1959), was the Secretary of State during the Dwight D. Eisenhower Administration (1953-1959). See http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=D000522.

[23] In March 1954, the National Committee for a Free Europe was renamed the Free Europe Committee (Reisch 2008: 44).

[24] See Attachments 1 (p. 374) and 2 (p. 375) for documents showing the link between the FEC and the CIA and the financial accountability of the former organisation to the latter one.

[25] The magazine had also German and French editions (Reisch 2013: 8).

[26] The central office of the Congress for Cultural Freedom was opened in Paris in 1952. It had its affiliates in the United States (the American Committee for Cultural Freedom), the United Kingdom (the British Society for Cultural Freedom) and Australia (the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom).

1995: 89). Political essays by Zbigniew Brzeziński, Leszek Kołakowski or Adam Michnik were hosted in *Encounter* more keenly than poems by Czesław Miłosz or Stanisław Barańczak, not to mention fragments of novels or short stories.[27]

However, the most acute blow at this early stage of the East-West literary Cold War came with the publishing of two dissident books by Czesław Miłosz, in their Polish, English and other language versions. Stonor Saunders writes:

> In May [1951], the Congress [for Cultural Freedom] "presented" a prize intellectual defector at a press conference in Paris. He was the young cultural attaché at the Polish Embassy, a poet and translator of *The Waste Land*, Czesław Miłosz. (2013: 84)

In 1953, Miłosz's "devastating study of […] the cultural and psychological machinery of Communism" (Davies 2001: 413), *Zniewolony umysł*, was published in Jane Zielonko's translation as *The Captive Mind* in two English-language editions: by Secker & Warburg in London and by Alfred A. Knopf in New York.[28] Significantly, at that time both publishing houses were involved in bringing out anti-communist publications. According to Frances Stonor Saunders, Frederic Warburg wittingly[29] cooperated with American intelligence agencies (ibid.: 332), publishing *Encounter* (ibid.: 146-147; 275) and distributing *Partisan Review* in England (ibid.: 284). Alfred Knopf, in turn, refused to bring out Howard Fast's novel *Spartacus*, sending "the manuscript back unopened, saying he wouldn't even look at a work of a [communist] traitor" (ibid.: 44). The two editions of *The Captive Mind* were presented to the English reader as a real-life political thriller. The front cover of the American version featured the following caption: "An urgent message to the West on the Communist mentality and the tragic moral and intellectual condition of the men and women who live under Stalinism." The blurb in the British edition sounded less dramatic; instead, it promised: "A first-hand report on the position of the intellectual, the artist, the writer, behind the Iron Curtain. How do these men feel? Here is the answer."

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[27] See http://www.unz.org/Pub/Encounter.

[28] The bibliography of translations by Ludomira Ryll and Janina Wilgat (1972) gives one more entry for *The Captive Mind* (Toronto: Random House of Canada, 1953) (Ryll and Wilgat 1972: 123). This, however, is a mistake stemming from the fact that in 1960 the publishing house Alfred A. Knopf was purchased by Random House.

[29] As Harrison Evans Salisbury writes, to the CIA a 'witting' individual was "a man of their world, he knew the language, the code words, the customs, the recognition symbols. To be 'witting' was to belong to the club. To talk the language. To understand the high signs. To know the fraternity grip. The 'unwitting' was out in the cold, unaware of what went on around him, ignorant of the elite conceptions that guided the closed circle of intelligence" (qtd in: Stonor Saunders 2013: 110).

In turn, Alfred A. Reisch's *Hot Books in the Cold War* (2013) provides the answer to how the translations and publications of Cold War anti-communist literature originated in the West:

> An executive memorandum from [October] 1951 to the NCFE [National Committee for a Free Europe] Board of Directors from FEC [the Free Europe Committee] President C. D. Jackson called for the setting up of four operating divisions – American Promotion, Educational Relations, Political Relations, and European Propaganda. The latter division was "charged with the responsibility and authority to carry out all European propaganda operations by radio, publication, or other means." […] The division was also tasked "To keep currently informed of Soviet cultural propaganda efforts … here and in Europe and to help provide counter-propaganda publications as required." (2013: 8-9)

Consequently, until 1956, the year of the Polish October Thaw and the bloody Hungarian Revolution, after which the American propaganda operations in Europe subsided and were redirected for some time to Asia, *Zniewolony umysł* appeared in Polish (1953 in Paris), English (1953), French (1953), German (1953), Italian (1955) and Swedish (1956). The French, German and Swedish editions were additionally accompanied with an anti-totalitarian foreword by Karl Jaspers.[30]

Another book by Miłosz which appeared in English translation was the political novel *Zdobycie władzy*, whose writing was stimulated, in all good intention, by the philosopher Jeanne Hersch, a student of Karl Jaspers's, whom Miłosz met through Józef Czapski[31] (Franaszek 1999: 221). All the circumstances of the novel's creation point to it being one of the books whose writing and publication were carefully staged by the American secret services according to the specifications contained in the *Final Report of the Church Committee* (*Final Report of* …1976: 192-193).[32] The fact that *Zdobycie władzy* was written on commission in only two summer months of 1952 in order to be presented (in manuscript

[30] Outside Europe, *Zniewolony umysł* appeared in the 1950s in Puerto Rico and Mexico (1954), as well as Indonesia (1959). During the 1980s' deterioration in relations between the East and the West, the book was (re)published in Finland (1980), France (1980), Germany (1980), Sweden (1980), Italy (1981, a new translation with a preface by Karl Jaspers), Norway (1981), Spain (1981), Greece (1983), the Netherlands (1984), Austria (1985 in Ukrainian), Yugoslavia (1985 in Serbian; 1988 in Macedonian) and Argentina (1988).

[31] Czapski, in his turn, participated in the meeting that took place at the end of November 1950 in Brussels, during which "the steering committee [of the Congress for Cultural Freedom] designed a functioning structure for the organization" (Stonor Saunders 2013: 75). Czapski's own initiative, presented at the meeting, concerned the foundation of a university for political exiles from Central and Eastern Europe (Grémion 2004: 31). The university was eventually established by the NCFE as the Free European University in Exile in 1951 in Strasbourg.

[32] The full version of the report's name sounds: *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*. As a matter of convenience, I adopted the shortening of the report's name after Frances Stonor Saunders, who used the surname of Senator Frank Church, the Committee Chairman, as a defining reference to the report (2013: 362, n. 6).

form) by October of the same year for the 1953 *Prix Littéraire Européen*[33] confirms this supposition, since Miłosz's winning the prize provided, *via* numerous translations, a perfect opportunity for the proliferation of the anti-communist message contained in the book in all the sensitive areas of the world where the socialist ideals were gaining strong ground. Among others, in the 1950s and 1980s the book was published in English, French (France and Switzerland), German (Germany, Switzerland and Austria), Gujarati, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean (two different translations), Malayalam, Marathi, Norwegian, Portuguese (Brazil and Portugal), Serbian, Spanish (Colombia and Spain) and Swedish.[34] In contrast, *Kimmerische Fahrt* (1953) by Werner Warsinsky, a narrative about the Second World War which won the *Prix Littéraire Européen* together with *Zdobycie władzy*, appeared only in Japanese translation in 1955.

Significantly, the organization which gave the idea for the *Prix Littéraire Européen*, the European Centre of Culture in Geneva, was created by Denis de Rougemont, the President of the Paris-based Congress for Cultural Freedom, aware of it being the CIA's operation from the very beginning (Stonor Saunders in: Lucas 2003: 29). The 1953 *Prix Littéraire Européen* was the only one ever awarded. Even years after the CIA's involvement in many "spontaneouos and independent" anti-communist initiatives in the US and Western Europe became public knowledge, Miłosz seemed to remain blissfully unaware of the circumstances of the award's creation. In 1999 he wrote:

> In 1952, Les Guildes du Livre in Switzerland (a sort of book club) announced a competition for a novel submitted in one of the Western European languages. The prize, *Prix Littéraire Européen*, guaranteed to the winner a considerable sum of money and the novel's publication by the book guilds. I decided to take part, although I had never written a novel before. […] The years of the Second World War and the end of the interwar period in Poland were on my mind. […] There had been no such political novel in Poland nor in émigré circles before. Although the tragic dimension is at times visible in Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Popiół i diament*, all in all it disappears because of its ideological manipulation. The book was created in two months. I used to write a chapter in the morning and in the afternoon it was delivered to my French translator, Jeanne Hersch. […] Following the terms of the competition, the first selection of the manuscripts was the responsibility of national juries, depending on the language. I submitted my novel as *La prise du pouvoir*. It didn't have a Polish title, which I gave to it later, although it's not as good as the French one. […] The *Prix Littéraire Européen* was awarded in 1953. Warsinsky, the candidate

[33] Ostensibly, *Prix Littéraire Européen* was "founded in 1952 at the initiative of the Centre Européen de la Culture in Geneva by the Communauté des Guildes du Livre" ("Cz. Miłosz…" 1953: 2; trans. mine).
[34] The American and Swedish editions of the book dating to the period of the "Second Cold War" (1979-1989), featured a preface by Stanisław Barańczak (Barańczak 1999: 211-216; Illg 1999: 225).

> of the German jury, was my rival. Both of us received the Prize. It was timely. I was completely broke. (7-8; trans. mine)

The English translation of *Zdobycie władzy* by Celina Wieniewska, which appeared in 1955, is known in the United States as *The Seizure of Power* (New York: Criterion Books[35]) and in Great Britain as *The Usurpers* (London: Faber & Faber[36]). The publication of the Polish (1955), as well as the English-language version (1955) was preceded by the French (France and Switzerland) and German ones (Germany, Switzerland and Austria).[37]

Since, according to Alfred A. Reisch, "[i]n 1952 and in subsequent years, the Free Europe Committee (FEC) [subsidised by the CIA] also gave financial support to the Polish émigré periodical *Kultura*" (2013: 8), it is highly probable that the publishing of the Polish originals of the two books by Miłosz, was also financed in this way, without *Kultura*'s chief editor, Jerzy Giedroyc, realising it.[38] Both *Zniewolony umysł* (1953) and *Zdobycie władzy* (1955) were brought out by Instytut Literacki (the Literary Institute) in Paris, an émigré publishing house co-established and ran by Giedroyc. The fact that many years later Giedroyc

[35] A letter from 25th January 1957, written by Jerzy Giedroyc to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, gives an account of a publishing project by Paweł Mayewski and Criterion Books, aimed at editing an anthology of American poetry in Polish translation, which demonstrates that also this publishing house was drawn into the ideological battle against communism. Giedroyc gave a decidedly negative opinion on the idea of entrusting such a task to Mayewski (Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 155). The anthology eventually appeared in 1958 as *Czas niepokoju: antologia współczesnej poezji brytyjskiej i amerykańskiej*, brought out as planned by Criterion Books (commissioned by the East Europe Institute) in Mayewski's edition. The second edition of the anthology appeared in 1965 by Perspectives in Culture, the publisher of Mayewski's quarterly *Tematy*. A message dispatched by Bernard Yarrow to James Goodrich McCargar constitutes a written proof of Criterion Books' involvement in the secret mailing project coordinated by the Free Europe Press. See Attachment 3 (p. 376).

[36] Faber & Faber was one of the publishing houses considered by the CIA as "the domestic 'sponsors'" (Matthews 2003: 422). The bibliography of translations by Ludomira Ryll and Janina Wilgat (1972) gives one more entry for *The Usurpers* (New York: British Book Service, 1955) (Ryll and Wilgat 1972: 122). However, the authors of the bibliography signal that they are unfamiliar with any of the English-language editions of *Zdobycie władzy* and no other independent source denotes such a publication. In all probability, British Book Service was a book trading company selling British books in Canada and the USA, not a publisher.

[37] For more information on the publication of *Zniewolony umysł* and *Zdobycie władzy*, see Jerzy Giedroyc and Czesław Miłosz, *Listy 1952-1963*, edited and introduced by Marek Kornat, Warszawa: Czytelnik, 2008.

[38] In January 1974, seven years after the CIA's involvement in establishing and sponsoring such enterprises as the Congress for Cultural Freedom or the Free Europe Committee became public knowledge, Jerzy Giedroyc wrote to Czesław Miłosz in the context of the Polish translation of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago*: "Two days ago I got a letter from the American director of the F(ree) E(urope) in Munich, who offers… 100 dollars for the copyright […]. When I phoned Solzhenitsyn's agent, [Franz] Heeb, he burst out laughing. He accepted the sum, while I contribute even more in translation costs. And so I'm starting to finance F(ree) E(urope) or, indirectly, the CIA" (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2012: 60; trans. mine). Miłosz's response shows that, even if ignorant of the circumstances of the origin of the *Prix Littéraire Européen*, by then he also became aware of the Agency's machinations behind the publication of his early books: "As for Solzhenitsyn, I understand that you want to publish him. But the F(ree) E(urope) offering 100 dollars for the copyright! You're taken in when they tell you about the lack of money and cuts in the budget. This has been *a constant and unchanging tactic* [original emphasis] of all CIA's agencies, which don't pay for the copyright or translation rights, but which have millions for their officers. *It was like this 25 years ago and it's nothing new* [emphasis added]. But if you had laughed at them and demanded 2,000, they would have paid *at once* [original emphasis]. That is why I can't stand these organisations, they epitomise all the baseness of the capitalist mentality" (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2012: 62; trans. mine).

was not willing to admit to receiving financial support from the NCFE-FEC, while at the same time reproaching Jan Nowak-Jeziorański from Radio Free Europe for accepting American money, became the bone of contention between the two men (Giedroyc 1994: 158-160; Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 711-712).[39]

Although Giedroyc indeed avoided financial connections which would render him accountable to his American sponsors and make him dependent on their political line, he nevertheless received money from the NCFE-FEC and used it whenever it served the Polish cause.[40] However, it is crucial to distinguish between Giedroyc's cooperation with Americans directed towards the common goal of freeing Europe from the Soviet yoke and his unyielding attitude towards any American endeavors to control the Institute (Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 106) or the *Kultura* magazine. In a 1962 letter to Czesław Miłosz, Jerzy Giedroyc reminisced:

> In '57 [Michael] Josselson[41] approached me in a straightforward manner offering me to become yet another magazine of the Congress, akin to *Forum* or *Encounter*. Guarding my independence, which is almost pathological in me, makes it impossible. Being at the service of FE [the Free Europe Committee] or the Congress would open fabulous prospects as for the émigré reality. But this would be the end of *Kultura*'s position since our greatest virtue is our complete independence. Anyway, I am convinced, contrary to appearances, that there's a strict coordination between the Congress and FE. (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2008: 592; trans. mine)

It might have been the fine difference between being controlled by the Americans and using their money for forwarding his own vision of publishing policies and world politics, which prompted Giedroyc to deny his involvement with American money. This, in turn, underpinned the conflict between him and Nowak-Jeziorański.[42] The fact that in 1962 Giedroyc could only suspect the existence of a secret coordination behind the two

[39] Documents concerning American financial support for the Literary Institute in Paris are to be found in Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław, Manuscripts Department, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's collection, signatures 58/06 and 203/00, of which the latter contains copies of documents stored in the folder signed 58/06). Public access to this part of the collection was not granted by Nowak-Jeziorański until the day of Jerzy Giedroyc's death. See Attachment 4 (p. 377).

[40] See Attachments 5 (p. 378) and 6 (p. 379). Apart from Giedroyc's involvement in the American mailing programme supervised by the NCFE-FEC, within the framework of which the Literary Institute's publications were sponsored by the Committee and distributed in the countries belonging to the Soviet bloc, *Kultura*'s editor obtained financial help from the Lilly Endowment for the publication of the "Archiwum Rewolucji" series (Giedroyc 1994: 159-160).

[41] A CIA agent who co-established and and ran, together with Melvin Lasky, the Congress for Cultural Freedom (Stonor Saunders 2013: 72-75).

[42] For Jeziorański the case must have been especially painful, as it was he who often supported Giedroyc's requests for financial support from the NCFE-FEC.

organisations, the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Free Europe Committee, proves that for a long time he did not realise that it was CIA agents who coordinated the workings of the two bodies, as well as of the Ford Foundation. In the same letter, Giedroyc wondered why he had not been able to receive any substantial funds from the Americans for his own publishing project. He wrote:

> I cannot comprehend it. I think that several factors contribute to this situation. First of all, Polish affairs are the monopoly of [the] Free Europe [Committee]. I have the worst relations possible with this institution. The Congress for Cultural Freedom is another monopolist since the days of October [1956]. As you know, starting from the 1950s I have been knocking at the Ford Foundation's door. In 1956 it seemed possible that I could create a publishing house in the style of that of Chekhov's.[43] […] Last year [1961], I went to the USA with my project concerning a series of Russian translations targeting the Soviet Union. The project was realised, but… by Praeger. For this there are literally millions. The fact that Praeger has a clearly propagandist character, that their selection is downright idiotic, that from the American position they can only strengthen the [Soviet] party and weaken the revisionists does not bother anyone. (ibid.: 592-593; trans. mine)

In brief, however unfair Giedroyc was in accusing Nowak-Jeziorański of accepting American money, while himself applying for and receiving financial support from the US budget, he never succumbed to political pressure from the American or Polish groups, be it émigré or home ones, and published only what he believed was right for Poland.

The early realisation of the importance of culture in the Cold War struggle stimulated the American side to open exchange programmes appealing to artists and intellectuals. Professorships and fellowship programmes sponsored by various foundations supported with CIA money were part of the "Intellectual Marshall Plan." Basing on the 1952 *Final Report of the Cox Committee* and on the 1976 *Final Report of the Church Committee,* Stonor Saunders extracted the following information:

> The use of philanthropic foundations was the most convenient way to pass large sums of money to Agency [the CIA] projects without alerting the recipient to their source. By the mid-1950s, the CIA's intrusion into the foundation field was massive. Although figures are not available for this period, the general counsel of a 1952 Congress committee appointed to investigate U.S. foundations concluded, "An unparalleled amount of power is

[43] Actually, 1956 was the year when the New-York based Chekhov Publishing House closed down, following the changed priorities of American secret services after the Hungarian Revolution ended in bloodshed. The house was established in 1951 by the East European Fund with the help from the Ford Foundation (acting as the CIA's conduit) and was devoted to the publication of Russian-language literature (Chester 1995: 43-53).

> concentrated increasingly in the hands of an interlocking and self-perpetuating group. Unlike the power of corporate management, it is unchecked by stockholders; unlike the power of government, it is unchecked by the people; unlike the power of the churches, it is unchecked by any firmly established canons of value." In 1976, a Select Committee appointed to investigate U.S. intelligence activities reported on the CIA's penetration of the foundation field by the mid-1960s: during 1963-66, of the 700 grants of over $10,000 given by 164 foundations,[44] at least 108 involved partial or complete CIA founding. More importantly, CIA funding was involved in nearly half the grants made by these 164 foundations in the field of international activities during the same period. "Bona fide" foundations such as Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie were considered "the best and most plausible kind of funding cover."[45] A CIA study of 1966 argued that this technique was "particularly effective for democratically run membership organizations, which need to assure their own unwitting members and collaborators, as well as their hostile critics, that they have genuine, respectable, private sources of income." Certainly, it allowed the CIA to fund "a seemingly limitless range of covert action programs affecting youth groups, labor unions, universities, publishing houses, and other private institutions" *from the early 1950s*.[46] (2013: 112-113; emphasis added)

Writing about the origins and main objectives of the book distribution programme, Alfred A. Reisch noted:

> The book distribution program was only one of the many non-radio "special projects" undertaken under FEC [the Free Europe Committee] auspices. A European Propaganda division was created *in 1951* "to carry out all European propaganda operations by radio, publication, or other means." This was followed by the creation of a "Special Projects" or "Publication Section," later named Free Europe Publication Division with a twofold purpose: "to reach over an ever larger portion of the population of the satellite countries" and "*to contribute towards the fight against Communism in the countries of Free Europe*." (2008: 44-45; emphasis added)

Reisch also gives evidence to secret subsidies given, since 1952, to "the Polish Library in Paris, […], the General Sikorski Historical Institute in London, and various recipients in West Germany. Columbia University also received funds to set up a program of East European Studies" (2013: 8). In turn, the *Final Report of the Church Committee* states:

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[44] These statistics exclude the "Big Three": Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations, which were the main conduits for the CIA's financial operations (*Final Report of* … 1976: 182-183).

[45] In this sentence, and subsequently in the whole paragraph, Stonor Saunders alters the meaning of the original document, which states: "Bona fide foundations, rather than those controlled by the CIA, were considered the best and most plausible kind of funding cover for certain kinds of operations" (*Final Report of* … 1976: 183), where *bona fide* foundations are juxtaposed with the CIA-controlled ones, involving the "Big Three." Nevertheless the researcher signals this fact by the ironic use of the quotation marks around "'Bona fide' foundations."

[46] Research and Publications Service, operating between 1950 and 1953, was the original body within the National Committee for a Free Europe responsible for anti-communist propaganda publications.

> Well over a thousand books were produced, subsidized or sponsored by the CIA *before the end of 1967*. Approximately 25 percent of them were written in English. Many of them were published by cultural organizations which the CIA backed, and *more often than not the author was unaware of CIA subsidization*. (*Final Report of* …1976: 193; emphasis added).

The same source gives a closer insight into the covert propaganda employed through book publishing and distribution:

> Covert propaganda is the hidden exercise of the power of persuasion. In the world of covert propaganda, book publishing activities have a special place. In 1961 the Chief of the CIA's Covert Action Staff, who had responsibility for the covert propaganda program wrote: "Books differ from all other propaganda media, primarily because one single book can significantly change the reader's attitude and action to an extent unmatched by the impact of any other single medium … this is, of course, not true of all books at all times and with all readers – but it is true significantly often to make books the most important weapon of strategic (long-range) propaganda." According to the Chief of the Covert Action Staff, the CIA's clandestine handling of book publishing and distribution could: "(a) Get books published or distributed abroad without revealing any U.S. influence, by covertly subsidizing foreign publications or booksellers. (b) Get books published which should not be 'contaminated' by any overt tie-in with the U.S. government, especially if the position of the author is 'delicate.' (c) Get books published for operational reasons, regardless of commercial viability. (d) Initiate and subsidize indigenous national and international organizations for book publishing or distributing purposes. (e) Stimulate the writing of politically significant books by unknown foreign authors – either by directly subsidizing the author, if covert contact is feasible, or indirectly, through literary agents or publishers." (*Final Report of* …1976: 192-193)

After the CIA's funding of a number of organisations and publications of the non-communist left was disclosed to the general public in 1967, consequently causing much outrage and many accusations, George Kennan, who played a formative role in the foundation of the National Committee for a Free Europe, pointedly replied: "This country [the USA] has no Ministry of Culture, and CIA was obliged to do what it could to try to fill the gap. It should be praised for having done so, and not criticized" (qtd in: Stonor Saunders 2013: 344). But the problem with this *sui generis* "Ministry of Culture" was, in James Epstein's words, that:

> […] the government seemed to be running an underground gravy train whose first-class compartments were not always occupied by first-class passengers: the CIA and the Ford Foundation, among other agencies, had set up and were financing an apparatus of intellectuals selected for their correct cold-war positions, as an alternative to what one might call a free intellectual market

> where ideology was presumed to count for less than individual talent and achievement, and where doubts about established orthodoxies were taken to be the beginning of all inquiry. In the recent controversy over the CIA's involvement with the intellectuals, this point seems not to have been made: *that it was not a matter of buying off and subverting individual writers and scholars, but of setting up an arbitrary and factitious system of values* […]. (1967: 20; emphasis added)

Interestingly, from 1951 to 1958, Epstein was an editor of Doubleday, later becoming a senior editor and vice-president of Random House (Pach 2006: 146). A list of "Domestic Sponsors" and "Sponsors in Europe," compiled in March 1968 for the internal use of the CIA's secret book mailing operations,[47] included, among others, such publishers and publications as Barnes and Noble, *Daedalus*, Doubleday, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Grove Press, Harper and Row, Harvard University Press, Allen and Unwin, Cassel, Chatto and Windus, Clarendon Press, Faber and Faber, Gollancz and Macmillan (Matthews 2003: 422). However, most of the publishers, and certainly their average employees, did not realise that they had been drawn into the CIA's covert operations. This is how the deals were struck with publishing houses in the case of the mailing programme:

> All policy direction [for the programme] came from the [Free Europe's] New York office. […] it supplied many suggestions for the mailings, was instrumental in setting up the mailers around Western Europe, and recruited the agents who were to deal with publishers. […] Warner Wolfe, an American of German extraction on the FEP [Free Europe Press] Munich staff, was chiefly responsible for setting up the mailing network. In early 1957, he was also responsible for finding two highly intelligent, motivated young women to handle relations with publishers in France and England. His choices were brilliant. […] Both young women insisted on starting at the top. Both were also *careful to deal with only one, or at the most, two people in any one publishing firm*. When Martine Servot first approached top publishing executives they assumed she was a society lady seeking free books for some charity benefit. They were "astonished" when they found she wanted to *buy* their books, and in considerable quantities. Mrs. Finney went first to the head of Oxford University Press. In a letter to the FEP's Warner Wolfe, dated 7 June 1957, she wrote: "I must say, it is a tremendous advantage to have Oxford University Press giving us a trade discount, because when dealing with any new publisher their name appears to be magic and they are immediately willing to give us a discount, e.g. Routledge." As more publishers came aboard, and more catalogues were dispatched, an increasing number of responses was received, especially from Poland. (ibid.: 414-415; emphasis added)

[47] The CIA's mailing program was a secret book distribution scheme across the Iron Curtain by various methods and channels. Although it lasted roughly from 1956 until 1991 (Reisch 2008: 44), it sheds some light on how the earlier publishing programme aimed at the Anglophone and other Western markets might have operated.

How many people, working for the various publishing houses and journals, knew that their publications were ordered *en masse* for the purposes of the mailing programme or were sponsored by the CIA within the frames of the publishing programme remains an open question.

1.4. 1955–1963

The years 1955-1963 in Poland are usually defined as the time of the "political thaw." However, this commonly adopted temporal frame is rather symbolic and imprecise. As the anonymous editor of the *Communists on Communism* collection wrote in the Introduction to the book:

> This collection of readings from the Polish press covers the period from mid-1955 to late 1956, in short, the period known as the "thaw." The readings range from poems to articles and short stories[48] and are typical of the intellectual ferment which preceded Poland's bloodless "October Revolution." *All the materials reproduced below are from official publications*. The Polish "thaw" was to a considerable extent a native phenomenon, and owes little to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU [the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] (February 1956). As will be seen below, many of the most pungent items were written long before the Soviet Party Congress and Khrushchev's "secret speech" allegedly inaugurated a new era of free expression. Even a cursory reading of the material is enough to establish that the Polish "thaw" was, and is, qualitatively unique in the Soviet bloc. *Polish writers themselves date their "thaw" from the Third Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party in January 1955*. This Plenum, which was sharply critical of the conduct of political life in Poland, laid the groundwork for the progress of liberalization characteristic of the succeeding months. The process was also speeded by purges in the ranks of the Polish Secret Police (UB) from late 1954 on. Nonetheless, Adam Ważyk's "Poem for Adults," published in August 1955, was the first overt and dramatic sign of the new literary freedom and accordingly begins this selection. (*Communists…* ca 1957: 1; emphasis added)[49]

[48] In fact, no short stories are to be found in *Communists on Communism*. The editor also says that "[s]ome of the selections which form part of this collection are reproduced with permission from the magazine *East Europe*. The remainder appear in English translation for the first time" (*Communists…* ca 1957: 2).

[49] The publisher of the *Communists on Communism*, the Intercontinental Press Service, brought out around the same time a collection of East European wit and humour entitled, after the eight contributors to the book, *Eight Angry Men: Satirical Writings in the Soviet Sphere* (anon. ed.), ca 1957. The Polish section of humorous narratives was taken mostly from the satirical magazine *Szpilki* and included essays by Wiesław Brudziński, Andrzej Rumian, Stefan Nowina, Antoni Marianowicz and Jerzy Ficowski. The profile of the Intercontinental Press Service and its links to the *East Europe* magazine point to its connection with the CIA's anti-communist publishing programme.

The most important implication of the Third Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party mentioned above was a propaganda campaign, supposed to encourage émigré writers to return to Poland. They were offered professional and financial stability as well as artistic fulfilment in the new, post-stalinist Polish reality. In one of his letters to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, dated October 1955, Jerzy Giedroyc gives testimony to how translation was used in order to re-establish bonds with the authors in question:

> The regime's campaign targeting émigré writers shows no signs of faltering. Today, for example, I received a letter from Pax, asking for Kuncewiczowa's address, whom they want to contact about the new edition of Undset's book which she translated before the war. Apparently, if they cannot get hold of the writer's original works, they try to make use of them as translators. A matter quite innocent in itself, even praiseworthy, but all the same it always creates a thread of understanding [between the regime and the writer]. (Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 92; trans. mine)

For various reasons, sentimental, idealistic and ideological rather than financial, the "return campaign" was to some extent successful. Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, Stanisław Cat-Mackiewicz and Michał Choromański decided to come back to Poland in 1957, to be joined by Melchior Wańkowicz in 1958, Zofia Chądzyńska in 1960, Teodor Parnicki in 1967 and Maria Kuncewiczowa in 1968.[50] On the other hand, the campaign was met with staunch protest from a different circle of Polish writers in exile, expressed in the pamphlet-manifesto *Dlaczego nie wracamy: Głos pisarzy polskich w wolnym świecie* (1956; Why We Don't Return: The Voice of Polish Writers in the Free World).[51] Quite often, the divide between those émigré writers who decided to stay abroad and those who decided to return was a painful experience:

> Kuncewiczowa's agreements in 1956 with PAX and Czytelnik – two major publishing houses of Poland who promised to "respect the integrity of her texts" – caused her resignation from the position of the honorary president of the International PEN Club: "The title of honorary president was abolished to get rid of me (…) in the face of such a clear vote of non-confidence, I decided to leave" (*N* 159). As she writes in *Natura*, not without bitterness, some of her

[50] For more on the communists' "return campaign" see Letter 18 by Jerzy Giedroyc [in:] Jan Nowak-Jeziorański and Jerzy Giedroyc, *Listy 1952-1998*, Dobrosława Platt (ed.), Wrocław: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ossolineum, 2001, 70-75, in which Giedroyc writes about his efforts to win financial suport for such émigré writers as Teodor Parnicki, Witold Gombrowicz, Andrzej Bobkowski and Jerzy Stempowski in order to disencourage them from going back to Soviet-controlled Poland.

[51] The pamphlet was co-authored by Stanisław Baliński, Marian Czuchnowski, Janusz Jasieńczyk, Józef Kisielewski, Janusz Kowalewski, Juliusz Mieroszewski, Herminia Naglerowa, Zygmunt Nowakowski, Tymon Terlecki, Kazimierz Wierzyński and Józef Wittlin.

> colleagues interpreted her decision as unforgivable disloyalty and an act of collaboration with the communists, whereas she saw it as an attempt to restore at least some of the normality ravaged by politics. (Zaborowska 1995: 211-212)

Moreover, during the general meeting of the Union of Polish Writers in Exile on 20th - 21st October 1956 in London, a resolution reiterating the 1947 ban on publishing in the Polish People's Republic was readopted. Witold Gombrowicz, who wanted to stay abroad but have his works published in Poland, commented shortly: "What imbecility!" (Giedroyc and Gombrowicz 2006: 272). Even before the resolution was officially passed, Jerzy Giedroyc put forward an idea which could reconcile the two fractions of Polish émigré writers. In a letter to Lewis Galantière, Political Adviser in the Free Europe Committee, dated 18th July 1956, *Kultura*'s editor wrote:

> [Although] Polish writers in exile should under no circumstances accept remuneration in any form for books which they would publish in Poland under the present regime, […] a very discreet scheme should be established, which would enable a Polish writer in exile to be financially "compensated" for the fees which he will voluntarily forego in Poland. (Giedroyc 1956)

Giedroyc believed that the compensation should come from the American cultural Cold War budget.[52] And indeed, even if Galantière replied that "[a]s to financial relations between Polish writers in exile (or their business agents) and the State publishing houses of the Warsaw regime, [he did] not believe that Free Europe Committee c[ould] undertake to instruct free writers in their conduct of their private affairs" (Galantière 1956), until the end of 1957, the year in which the Union of Polish Writers in Exile decided to abolish the infamous prohibition on publishing in Poland, many émigré writers, among them Gombrowicz, received such support.[53]

Apart from the Polish October, political changes were also taking place in the USA. The death of Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy in May 1957 paved the way for a Polish-American détente. This meant the mellowing of the usual hostile rhetoric and the opening of a large-scale cultural offensive from both sides of the ideological rift. Obviously, the switch

[52] See Attachment 7 (pp. 380-383).

[53] In fact, the FEC were providing financial aid to selected Polish émigré cultural organisations and writers at least from March 1956 (Giedroyc and Gombrowicz 2006: 213-214); hence, in his reply, Galantière mentions "the conditions upon which [the Committee] will *extend* aid or give employment to anybody at all" (Galantière 1956; emphasis added). By the conditions Galantière meant cooperation (Giedroyc and Gombrowicz 2006: 213), which could have taken a different nature, depending on the individual case.

into soft-power operations was nothing else than "an attempt to infiltrate the enemy's camp" (Jan Nowak-Jeziorański in: Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 163; trans. mine).

One of the methods employed by the United States to ensure influence on public opinion in Poland and other countries of the communist bloc was the system of scholarships and exchange stipends. Shepard Stone, an American intelligence officer operating in Europe and a supporter of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, came up with the idea of using exchange programmes as an effective propaganda tool against communist regimes while organising help for Hungarian exiles in Vienna (Czernecki 2011: 27). Stone became Director of International Affairs at the Ford Foundation in 1952 and served there until 1967, when "he was appointed President of the International Association for Cultural Freedom, a reinvention of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, seriously discredited when it came to light that much of its funding came from the CIA."[54] In February 1957 Stone came to Poland in order to sound out the feasibility of the project (ibid.: 27). The outcome was positive. Soon other Western foundations joined in. In its "Chronicle of Events," *The Polish Review* reported that on 21st May 1957:

> Representatives of Ford and Rockefeller Foundations arrived in Warsaw to discuss ways in which funds granted by both institutions for advancement of research in Poland and cultural exchange with USA are to be used. The Ford Foundation grant is $500,000, the Rockefeller Foundation grant – $300,000. (Proch 1957a: 171)

In the same year, "the Kościuszko Foundation decided to resume the exchange of students, young scholars and professors between Poland and the USA, interrupted in 1939" (Proch 1957b: 125). The Fulbright Foundation followed suit in 1959. Yale Richmond, a former Cultural Officer in the US Foreign Service wrote:

> Although USIA had four Americans in Warsaw when I arrived as Cultural Officer in July 1958, our cultural and information activities in Poland were still rather limited. […] there were as yet no academic exchanges, mainly because none of the Warsaw Embassy staff had such experience in previous postings. Initiating an exchange of graduate students and university lecturers was therefore my first priority. […] To Margaret Schlauch, an expatriate American who was head of the English Department at Warsaw University, goes much of the credit for resuming US academic exchanges with Poland. […] Prior to my arrival in Warsaw, Schlauch had no contact with the American Embassy, where she was regarded as a renegade [for her Marxist convictions which made

[54] http://ead.dartmouth.edu/html/ml99_biohist.html

> her leave the US].[55] […] The student exchange began in 1959 with four American and four Polish graduate students. (2008: 48-49, 51)

This new, conciliatory strategy in American foreign policy in the field of culture, as well as the fact that the Union of Polish Writers in Exile repealed its ban on publishing in Poland, resulted in cancelling, from 1958, the financial support given to Polish émigré writers (Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 232, 234).[56] This move on the American part could have also been dictated by the fact that Jerzy Giedroyc, who looked after Polish émigré writers, among others by finding sponsors willing to provide them with financial assistance, declined the offer of subordinate cooperation with the Congress for Cultural Freedom (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2008: 592).[57]

Artistically, the "thaw" in Poland meant liberation from the socialist realism constraints. A Polish writer, who adopted the pseudonym Piotr Świderek in his report for *East Europe*, thus reflected on the state of domestic Polish literature of the period in question:

> The years 1955, 1956 and 1957 were marked in Poland by a fervid discussion of the achievements and failures of socialism, a discussion that is still unique in the communist world for its openness and sincerity. The results in some fields – journalism, the academic world, music, films, the plastic arts – were considerable. But in literature? […] The novels and short stories of Kazimierz Brandys, aspiring to be a new departure in prose, are adroit and full of concern but devoid of intellectual passion and emotional force. The same applies to Jerzy Andrzejewski's labored accountings with fanaticism and to Iwaszkiewicz's stylistically chiselled but repulsive casuistry. […] But the year 1956 also ushered onto the literary scene a number of new writers who had either been too young to succumb to the moral corruption of socialist realism or had been denied the right to publish during the stalinist period or who, within the framework of the Marxist world outlook, had hewed out the right to their own views. In the first group are Marek Hłasko, author of brutal stories about the grimness of everyday life in Poland, and Sławomir Mrożek, skeptic and satirist, master of the miniature form in both the play and the short story. The second group includes: Zbigniew Herbert, whose cool and reflective poetry, unusually modern in its style, has made him a European name; the excellent realist Jan Józef Szczepański, whose novels and short stories represent a new view of the war and German occupation without communist simplifications; and Stanisław Lem, philosopher and mathematician, who turned to science fiction during the stalinist era but whose writing glitters with ideological and political irony. The third group is represented chiefly by the young Marxist philosopher, Leszek Kołakowski. (1966: 32-33)

[55] See Yale Richmond, "Margaret Schlauch and American Studies in Poland during the Cold War," *The Polish Review* 1, 1999, 53-57.
[56] See Attachment 8 (p. 384).
[57] For more information on this topic see page 45 in this chapter.

With the exception of Jan Józef Szczepański, whose one and only short story published in book form appeared in Maria Kuncewiczowa's anthology *The Modern Polish Mind* (1962), all other writers mentioned favourably in the article became widely promoted and translated into English. Interestingly, in contrast to Świderek's opinion about revisionist writings by Kazimierz Brandys and Jerzy Andrzejewski, from the point of view of Anglophone translation commissioners they became valuable assets in the fight against communism. This could not have been the case of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, unjustly perceived in the West as a political opportunist in communist Poland.[58]

Although the departure from the rigid literary conventions provided a much coveted fresh whiff of non-servile creativity, the political freedom of expression in Poland was soon stifled. The closing of the intellectual weekly *Po prostu* in 1957[59] and the fact that Marek Hłasko's *Cmentarze* was withheld from publication signified the end of the real "thaw" in Poland (Szymańska 2001: 195). New methods of political control started instead:

> By now it is obvious that Gomułka and the political circles connected with him are a brake on the evolution of communism. […] In carrying out his new policies Gomułka rejected a number of outdated stalinist instruments and introduced new and improved ones, made of the latest materials and painted the gayest of colors. In today's Poland the censor does not confiscate books: those not allowed to appear simply disappear into the bowels of the publishing houses; no one tells the authors they will not be printed – they just aren't. (Świderek 1966: 33-34)

The anti-totalitarian response to this situation was the publication of the suppressed book abroad, which was possible if somebody managed to smuggle the copy of its manuscript out of Poland. The gagged writer could also try and leave Poland in order to publish freely on the Western side of the Iron Curtain. However, what the West could offer to most dissident authors were new political allegiances. Marek Hłasko's fate became an almost emblematic illustration of such a case. Lacking the grandiosity of the pre-1956 dissident Czesław Miłosz

[58] From among Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's prose writings only two appeared in English in book form in his lifetime and are to be found in Andrzej Kijowski's *Contemporary Polish Short Stories* (1960) and Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind* (1962). Three more were published posthumously in *The Eagle and the Crow: Modern Polish Short Stories* (1996), edited by Teresa Halikowska and George Hyde; Harold Bernard Segel's *Stranger in Our Midst: Images of the Jew in Polish Literature* (1996); and *The Dedalus Book of Polish Fantasy* (1996), edited by Wiesiek Powaga. The first authorial book of Iwaszkiewicz's most famous, pre-war stories appeared in English after the Cold War political struggle between Poland and Anglophone countries was over. Ironically, it was published by the Central European University Press (Budapest, London, New York) in the Central European Classics series, initiated in the early 1990s by Timothy Garton Ash in order to prepare the ground for European integration. The collection came out in Antonia Lloyd-Jones's rendition as *The Birch Grove and Other Stories* (2002).

[59] Stefan Bratkowski, Włodzimierz Godek, Marek Hłasko, Jan Olszewski, Agnieszka Osiecka, Ryszard Turski and Jerzy Urban were among the *Po prostu* contributors.

or the cynicism of Leopold Tyrmand, Hłasko is one of the most tragic examples of a writer trapped between the tightening system of Polish censorship and instrumental treatment on the part of American propagandists. Although initially pampered in Poland, he soon learnt that he could not count there on unfettered artistic expression. Magnus Jan Kryński, a translator of Polish poetry into English, described Hłasko's ordeals in his article for *The Polish Review*:

> In late 1956 and early 1957 the Silesian weekly *Panorama* serialized Hłasko's short novel *Głupcy wierzą w poranek* (Fools Believe in the Dawn). It soon became evident that no publishing house would venture to publish this novel in book form. Thus, even at the height of the "thaw," Hłasko encountered difficulties in having his work published. By 1957 two of his novels were rejected by Polish publishing houses – this in spite of his popularity with the public and critics. (In 1958 he received the Publishers' Award for the best work published in 1956-57). It is not surprising, therefore, that during his travels as a tourist in Western Europe in 1958, Hłasko got in touch with the Polish émigré monthly *Kultura* in Paris, hoping to find an outlet for his book banned in Poland. In 1958 *Kultura* did publish his Fools Believe in the Dawn, under the title *Następny do raju* (*Next Stop – Paradise*), and another short novel, *Cmentarze* (*The Graveyard*). (1961: 12)

In the same year, the two books, brought out in one volume, received the *Kultura* Award in the *ad-hoc* one-off "home literature" category. From that moment on, Hłasko became a hostage in the fight between the two ideologies: communism and capitalism. While still in Poland, he was alternately treated with a carrot and stick by the high and mighty of the communist world. Although Juliusz Żuławski from the Polish Writers' Union managed to assure the Ford Foundation stipend for Hłasko (Żuławski 1992: 42), the governmental approval was later withdrawn. Instead of going to the United States, Hłasko decided to go to Paris. Not having enough money for the trip, the writer had to borrow from an American correspondent in Warsaw (Grabowska 1969: 7). Before his departure, Hłasko managed to sign contracts for the translation of *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* with the American publisher Dutton and Company and the German Kiepenheuer & Witsch.[60] The French Julliard additionally bought the rights to *Pierwszy krok w chmurach* (Hłasko 2013: Kindle Location 2770; Ryll and Wilgat 1972: 68-69). After Hłasko finally left Poland, the spectacle of hate started there, but a film

[60] Translated by Vera Cerny, *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* appeared in West Germany together with *Cmentarze* (*Die Friedhöfe*), rendered by Maryla Reifenberg, and fourteen of Hłasko's short stories translated by Hans Goerke. See Marek Hłasko (1969) *Der achte Tag der Woche und andere Erzählungen*, Köln; Berlin: Kiepenheuer &Witsch. For more information on Kiepenheuer & Witsch editions of Marek Hłasko's works see Birgit Boge, *Die Anfänge von Kiepenheuer & Witsch: Joseph Caspar Witsch und die Etablierung des Verlags (1948-1959)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009, 146-147. Kiepenheuer & Witsch was also the publisher of anti-communist and revisionist writings by Czesław Miłosz and Kazimierz Brandys (Boge 2009: 144-146).

based on his novel *Następny do raju* was screened a year later. This shows that the "thaw" was never complete and should rather be regarded as a series of oscillating "frost and thaw periods." While bringing Hłasko's prose closer to the American reader, Magnus Jan Kryński skilfully captured the paradoxes of what was allowed and what banned in post-1956 Polish literature:

> A peculiarity of Polish Communist "liberalism" is that sometimes works are passed in literary periodicals of limited circulation and not in book form or are banned in print while being shown on the screen. […] the movie about the truck drivers (The Depot of the Dead),[61] after being shelved for some time, was shown in October 1959 […]. (1961: 12)

On the other side of the Iron Curtain, Hłasko's writings were politically exploited even without his knowledge. In a letter to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, Jerzy Giedroyc wrote:

> One more little thing. Some time ago, *East Europe* reprinted two stories by Hłasko.[62] He saw it while he was browsing issues of the monthly in our library. He asked Michałowski[63] to explain the matter and the question of the author's royalties with the Americans, but they said that the European copyright law did not apply to the US and that Hłasko shouldn't expect to get anything. However, as a gift, they could give him $100. Naturally, Hłasko rejected the offer outright. I think this was a big mistake from the psychological point of view. It isn't the money that is important here. (Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 236; trans. mine)

Nowak-Jeziorański replied:

> Congratulations on the great success with Hłasko. Publishing his book[64] was a splendid move, the more important that he didn't sever his ties with Poland. This is an important precedence, which might open yet another way to the West for writers in Poland. To my mind, *if Hłasko "had chosen freedom" the*

[61] *Baza ludzi umarłych* (The Depot of the Dead), a film by Czesław Petelski from 1958, was based on Marek Hłasko's novel *Następny do raju*. Hłasko was also the author of the screenplay for the film but decided to have his name removed from the credit list after substantial changes had been introduced to the plot by the film's art director, Aleksander Ford (Hłasko 2013: Kindle Locations 2605-2609). Paradoxically, film adaptations of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, initiated and financed by the CIA, were manipulated even to a greater extent (Stonor Saunders 2013: 247-251).

[62] "'A Point, Mister?' Or: Everything Has Changed" (an anonymous translation of "Kancik czyli wszystko się zmieniło"), *East Europe* 9, 1957, 10-14 and "We Take Off for Heaven" (an anonymous translation of "Odlatujemy w niebo"), *East Europe* 10, 1957, 31-35.

[63] Zygmunt Michałowski (1918-2010) was the Director of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe in the years 1976-1982. He acted as a liaison between the Free Europe Committee, the Congress for Cultural Freedom and Jerzy Giedroyc's Literary Institute. See Attachment 9 (p. 385-386).

[64] Marek Hłasko, *Cmentarze*; *Następny do raju*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki, 1958. The English translations of the two narratives appeared respectively as *The Graveyard* (1959) and *Next Stop – Paradise* (1960).

> *publication of his book would have had much less meaning*. I'm not able to understand why giving $100 to Hłasko from the Free Europe Committee should put him in a hostile position. There must be some misunderstanding. The United States acts according to different copyright laws than Europe and the Committee cannot change the regulations in that respect. Nevertheless, Hłasko's complaint was met with an immediate positive reaction. I simply don't understand what it's all about. (Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 240; trans. mine; emphasis added)

In 1958, for his *Cmentarze*, Hłasko was chosen the first winner of the London *Wiadomości* Prize, the émigré literary award founded for the first five years by Auberon Herbert.[65] Although the *Wiadomości* Prize was meant to honour only émigré Polish writers, members of the Jury were almost unanimous in their decision. Only Józef Mackiewicz decidedly opposed Hłasko's candidature. In a letter sent to Grydzewski, the editor-in-chief of *Wiadomości*, he wrote:

> I decidedly protest against the nomination of Hłasko's *Cmentarze*. I do not even want to mention the fact that Hłasko's talent is largely exaggerated, the result of shady American foreign policy. If it were not for the promotion of Titoism in communist countries, not only no foreigners, but also few Poles would have heard about Hłasko. (1993: 32; trans. mine)

Mackiewicz's opinion about Hłasko's literary talent is certainly unfair. Nevertheless, the political meaning of the young writer's cooperation with Giedroyc's *Kultura* was played up by American propaganda. Even though the financial remuneration (100 guineas) which came with the winning of the *Wiadomości* Prize was a great help for Hłasko, he found it extremely difficult to make a living from writing in the West. In his autobiographical book, *Piękni dwudziestoletni* (1966; *Beautiful Twentysomethings*; 2013), he bitterly commented:

> But what to do when you want to keep on writing? You'll be fine, so long as you were once a communist, a member of the Central Committee, a high functionary in the Department of Security, a spy, or a diplomat. A man who was a spy for the Kremlin behind the Iron Curtain, who tore out his compatriots' fingernails or put a bullet in the back of their heads, will always find a good career. He'll be used as a propaganda trump card and a pawn in the battle against communism. An honest man who has never been a communist or a spy just becomes an unnecessary burden for the people of the West. As

[65] During the Second World War Auberon Herbert (1922-1974) joined the Polish forces in Britain. He learnt to speak Polish fluently and became an expert in Polish affairs. After the war, he financially supported anti-communist groups from Eastern Europe. The prize was awarded on a yearly basis from 1958 to 1990, when Zbigniew Herbert became its last recipient. More in Stefania Kossowska (ed.), *Od Herberta do Herberta: nagroda* Wiadomości *1958-1990*, Londyn: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, 1993.

> everybody knows, the people of Eastern Europe hate the commies, and it's impossible to exploit them for propaganda purposes, since to say that evening is dark and morning is bright isn't a revelation in the West.[66] A person who hates commies is greeted by years of misery, humiliation, waiting on a visa: years of emptiness and despair. It's no good to pretend to be a disillusioned communist writer, either. It had been a decent trick until 1956, but then Khrushchev fixed everything from the top down. Today a red intellectual can't rend his garments and cry that he didn't know about the millions of people tortured in concentration camps and prisons. (2013: Kindle Locations 1673-1682)

With Western publishers disinterested in him as a writer, Hłasko analysed, with typical irony, four further ways of survival in the new circumstances he found himself. These included: feigning insanity in order to be admitted to a mental asylum; finding a "quiet harbor," in other words going to prison; pimping, which, however, is a difficult and dangerous job; or undertaking "honest work," *i.e.* a career in espionage, for which, unfortunately, he has no talent (1693-2167).[67]

One of the greatest achievements of the 1956 "thaw," however restricted, was the possibility of travelling abroad, which opened up for Poles. In his paper on "The West's Secret Marshall Plan for the Mind," John P. C. Matthews notes that:

> Poland, which had undergone a huge transformation known as "the Polish October," while the world's attention was riveted on the Hungarian Revolution and its suppression, not only greatly loosened its censorship, it began to allow its citizens to travel to the West. The Munich office [of the Free Europe Press, created and overseen by the NCFE-FEC] established a network of already existing Polish exile cultural institutions throughout Western Europe where books were passed to Polish travelers according to a single rule: to friends, to friends of friends, but never to friends of friends of friends, who might be agents of the regime's secret police. (2003: 420)

The CIA's secret project concerning the distribution of books and periodicals in the Soviet sphere of influence started in mid-1956. Poland was the most profitable recipient of foreign as well as Polish-language publications (Matthews 2003: 416, 418, 421, 426; Reisch 2008: 48). However, the CIA was already involved, from 1951, in book publishing destined for the

[66] An allusion to *Darkness at Noon* (1940) by Arthur Koestler (1905-1983). Celebrated in the West as one of the chief anti-communist propagandists, for many years Koestler overused his powerful position with impunity. "In 1998, Koestler was literally taken off his pedestal when his bronze bust was removed from public display at Edinburgh University following revelations by biographer David Cesarani that he had been a violent rapist" (Stonor Saunders 2013: 356).

[67] In his autobiography, Jerzy Giedroyc gives evidence of how Americans "took care" of young people escaping from Poland to the West, in order to recruit, train and send them back home to serve US intelligence purposes (1994: 152).

Anglophone and Western European markets (Reisch 2008: 44-45), as the case of English translations of Miłosz's *Zniewolony umysł* and *Zdobycie władzy* shows and as was testified in the 1976 *Final Report of the Church Committee*:

> The Committee has reviewed a few examples of what the Chief of the Covert Action Staff termed "books published for operational reasons regardless of commercial viability." Examples included: (1) A book about the conflict in Indochina was produced in 1954 at the initiation of the CIA's Far East Division. A major U.S. publishing house under contract to the CIA published the book in French and English. Copies of both editions were distributed to foreign embassies in the United States, and to selected newspapers and magazine editors both in the United States and abroad. […] (3) Another CIA book, the *Penkovskiy Papers*, was published in the United States in 1965 "for operational reasons," but actually became commercially viable. The book was prepared and written by witting Agency assets who drew on actual case materials. Publication rights to the manuscript were sold to a publisher through a trust fund which was established for the purpose. *The publisher was unaware of any U.S. Government interest*. (*Final Report of* …1976: 193-194; emphasis added)

Frances Stonor Saunders also writes that:

> In late 1961, Howard Hunt joined Tracy Barnes's newly established Domestic Operations Division. Barnes, who served as deputy director of the Psychological Strategy Board, was a strong advocate of the use of literature as an anticommunist weapon and worked hard to strengthen the CIA's publishing program. "The new division accepted both personnel and projects unwanted elsewhere within CIA," Howard Hunt later wrote,[68] "and those covert-action projects that came to me were almost entirely concerned with publishing and publications. We subsidized 'significant' books, for example, *The New Class* by Milovan Djilas (the definitive study of Communist oligarchies), one of a number of Frederick A. Praeger Inc. titles so supported." (2013: 207)

Significantly, Djilas's book followed a similar pattern of coordinated publishing as did *The Captive Mind* and *The Seizure of Power* / *The Usurpers* by Czesław Miłosz. The Serbian version of *The New Class* appeared in Munich,[69] published in all likelihood by the Free Europe Press. English-language editions, by an unknown translator, appeared in London, published by Thames & Hudson, and in New York by Praeger. According to Stonor Saunders:

[68] E. Howard Hunt, *Undercover: Memoirs of an American Secret Agent*, New York, NY: Berkley, 1974.
[69] According to the Worldcat database. Many sources erroneously give London as the place of publication of the Serbian original.

> Frederick Praeger, a propagandist for American military government in postwar Germany, published between twenty and twenty-five volumes in which the CIA had an interest in either the writing, the publication, or the distribution. Praeger said *it either reimbursed him directly for the expenses of publication or guaranteed, usually through a foundation, the purchase of enough copies to make it worthwhile*. (ibid.: 206; emphasis added)

Apart from the Serbian and English editions, all brought out in 1957, other language versions of Djilas's book appeared in the same year, among them Juliusz Mieroszewski's Polish translation done for the Literary Institute in Paris.[70] Stonor Saunders points out that "*The New Class* was published in collaboration with the [CIA-controlled] Congress for Cultural Freedom" (ibid.: 380, n. 31). Unfortunately, most documents concerning the CIA's publishing programme are still classified or unclassified with omissions. The same concerns the documents of the Psychological Strategy Board operations (ibid.: 124). In 1977, the *New York Times* alleged that:

> [t]he CIA had been involved in the publication of at least a thousand books. *The Agency has never made public its publications backlist*, but it is known that books in which it had an involvement include Lasky's *La Révolution Hongroise*; translations of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* and *Four Quartets*; and, naturally, those *books published by the Congress for Cultural Freedom or its affiliates*, including anthologies of verse, Herbert Lüthy's *Le Passé Présent: Combat d'Idées de Calvin à Rousseau*; Patricia Blake's *Half-Way to the Moon*; *New Writing from Russia* (1964, an Encounter book); *Literature and Revolution in Soviet Russia*, edited by Max Hayward and Leopold Labedz (Oxford University Press, 1963); *History and Hope: Progress in Freedom* by Kot Jeleński;[71] Bertrand de Jouvenel's *The Art of Conjecture*; *The Hundred Flowers*, edited by Roderick MacFarquhar; Nicolo Tucci's autobiographical novel *Before My Time*; Barzini's *The Italians*; Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*; and new editions of Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Under the imprint of the Chekhov Publishing Company, which was secretly subsidized by the CIA, Chekhov's works were widely translated and distributed. (ibid.: 206-207; emphasis added)

Bitter Harvest: The Intellectual Revolt behind the Iron Curtain, an anthology of writings from communist countries, edited by Edmund O. Stillman, can certainly be ascribed

[70] Milovan Dżilas, *Nowa klasa wyzyskiwaczy: analiza systemu komunistycznego*, translated by Juliusz Mieroszewski from the American edition by Frederick A. Praeger Inc., Paryż: Instytut Literacki, 1957.

[71] Between 1952 and 1973 Konstanty Aleksander Jeleński worked in the Paris headquarters of the CCF. From 1953 to 1969 he was on the editorial board of the *Preuves* magazine. In 1955 he coestablished the Committee of Writers and Publishers for European Cooperation (Komitet Pisarzy i Wydawców dla Europejskiej Samopomocy), later transformed into the Foundation for European Intellectual Cooperation (Fundacja Europejskiej Samopomocy Intelektualnej). See http://www.kulturaparyska.com/pl/ludzie/ pokaz/j/konstanty-aleksander-jelenski and Pierre Grémion, *Konspiracja wolności: Kongres Wolności Kultury w Paryżu (1950-1975)*, trans. from the French by Jan Maria Kłoczowski, Warszawa: PWN, 2004, 261-265.

to the above list. The date of the publication is not given, but the introduction by François Bondy was written in 1959 in Paris. Bondy was among the witting members of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which means that he was aware of the CIA's staging and sponsorship of the organisation. The British edition of the book appeared in London by Thames & Hudson, the American one in New York by Praeger.

In 1959, Poland and the United States started exchanging their cultural propaganda magazines *Poland* and *Ameryka*.[72] In an interview which Arthur Schlesinger Jr. gave to Frances Stonor Saunders in 1994 he said:

> One of the oddities of the CIA's venture in cultural politics was that what it did should have been done openly and publicly through the United States Information Agency, or some other such body. […] The reason it couldn't be was because of Joe McCarthy, because if Joe McCarthy knew that the U.S. government was funding Non-Communist Left magazines, and socialist and Catholic trade unions, that would have caused great trouble. So it was in order to avoid McCarthy that the CIA did these things in a covert way. (ibid.: 165)

This explanation might be partially true, but even after the Washington-based United States Information Agency got openly involved in cultural politics, the CIA did not stop its covert cultural propaganda operations. The USIA simply became an additional means of American influence on Polish society, this time a direct one.[73] As Alfred A. Reisch reports:

> Since 1958, Poland alone had an Information Media Guarantee (IMG) Contract with the U.S. worth $1.2 million, under which the USIA was able to provide a steady flow of American literary works and periodicals, films, music recordings, World Almanacs, and Sears Roebuck Catalogues. The allotted 30,000 copies of the magazine *Ameryka* were sold out within a day or two in Poland's main cities, while the 10,000 copies of its counterpart *Poland* did not fare very well in the U.S. There were occasional problems with the Polish authorities about pricing and books on modern jazz, but on the whole, the IMG became one of the most effective cultural instruments the U.S. had in Poland. (2013: 254)

[72] Although *Poland*, the English-language version of the lavishly illustrated magazine *Polska*, had been available for British readers from 1954, Americans could not order the subscription of the periodical until May 1959 (a reprint of the European edition of the magazine from March). The United States Information Agency (USIA) began dispatching their Polish-language colourful monthly *Ameryka* in February the same year (Proch and Ziffer 1959: 113). The magazine was distributed by "Ruch" newsagents until 1992, with a break between 1983 and 1987. See Attachment 10 (p. 387).

[73] The USIA's own plan to influence the readership in the Soviet Bloc through its publications originated even before Joseph McCarthy's death (Reisch 2008: 46-47).

Polish Perspectives (1958-1989), published by the Polish Institute of International Affairs, and *The Polish Review* (1961-1969), brought out by the Polonia Publishing House, were two more monthlies featuring English translations of Polish literature. Marion Moore Coleman referred to *Polish Perspectives* as "a periodical designed to provide a survey of Polish life today" (1963: vii). Additionally, the *Polish Perspectives* magazine was available in French and German versions, while *The Polish Review* had its French and English-language African mutations.[74]

Between 2nd and 8th of July 1958, one of the most important events in Polish patronage over literary translation in the period concerned took place with the summoning of the 1st International Conference of Translators of Literary Works (*Première rencontre internationale*… 1958). The Conference was the first gathering of this kind in the world (Rusinek 1982: 258-259) and was held in Warsaw and Kraków, jointly sponsored by the Polish PEN Centre and the International Federation of Translators (FIT), founded in 1953 in Paris. It was attended by 110 translators from twenty-six countries (*Reports of Organizations*…, 1959: 1). Ludwik Krzyżanowski noted:

> In addition to participants from the "People's Democracies" there were sizable delegations from the West. The Orient was represented by a Japanese and an Indian, the latter a professor of Indian civilization in the University of Warsaw with a perfect command of Polish.[75] The Soviet Union was conspicuous by its absence. (1959: 153)

Krzyżanowski was one of the two official delegates from the American PEN Club, next to Theodore M. Purdy. Among other US representatives were: the Polish writer Maria Kuncewiczowa, Edmund Ordon of Wayne State University in Detroit and the American translator of Polish literature Marion Moore Coleman. Guests invited from England included the Polish translator Celina Wieniewska and David Carver, the General Secretary of the English PEN Centre and the Secretary and Treasurer of the International PEN in the years 1951-1974 (*Première rencontre internationale*… 1958: 3, 17-19). However, Carver, who was

[74] The abundance of cultural propaganda magazines on both sides of the Iron Curtain and the recurrence of some of the titles must have led to, at times purposeful, confusion among the readership. For instance, *The Polish Review* is also the title of a quarterly which has been published by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America since 1956. The Paris monthly *Kultura* (1947-2000) was shadowed in Poland by the weekly *Nowa Kultura* (1950-1963), a fusion of *Odrodzenie* (1944-1950) and *Kuźnica* (1945-1950), later renamed simply *Kultura* (1963-1981), which came about as the result of a merger of *Nowa Kultura* and *Przegląd Kulturalny* (1952-1963).

[75] Hiranmoy Ghoshal (1908-1969). The programme of the conference lists two representatives from Japan: Mikio Hiramatsu and Ryoichi Sato, and from India: Hiramay Goshal [sic] and Chunilal Madia (*Première rencontre internationale*… 1958: 19-20).

associated with the Congress for Cultural Freedom and proved to be instrumental in the CIA's Cold War infiltration of the International PEN (Stonor Saunders 2013: 305-308), could not attend the meeting (Rusinek 1959: 32, 214).

French and English were "the official languages of the Conference, with a preponderance of the former" and the four thematic meetings suggested by the Conference organisers listed: "1) The role of the translator of literary works in contemporary culture and in bringing the nations closer together; 2) The art and theory of translating; 3) Professional interests of the translator; and 4) Means aiming at the deepening of the international exchange of literary works" (Krzyżanowski 1959: 154). Unfortunately, as Krzyżanowski reported:

> All the sessions were held at the Soviet-built and styled skyscraper known as the Palace of Culture and Science in the auditorium of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The size and the arrangement of the auditorium deprived the meetings of any sense of intimacy and made the proceedings extremely formal. There really was no discussion in the proper sense of the word, and whatever exchange of ideas there was, had to be in the form of statements from the stage. A sort of American "round table" or at least a smaller room would have been much more conducive to creating a more propitious atmosphere for an intellectual give-and-take. (ibid.: 154)

Obviously, notwithstanding "the conspicuous absence" of representatives of the Soviet Union, the Polish organisers wanted to maintain everything under control, although they, as well as other Polish participants, identified themselves more with Western cultural heritage than with that of the East. Krzyżanowski observed:

> It is noteworthy that the writers, translators, intellectuals and scholars whom the American delegation had occasion to meet, invariably displayed an attachment to all Western cultural values and an overpowering nostalgia for contacts with the West. The Polish writers and intellectuals demonstrated once more their true character, their desire to continue as genuine members of Western civilization and their hope that the West will not forsake them in the defense and preservation of their cultural heritage which is that of the West. (ibid.: 156)

Although the ambitious plans to hold similar meetings "once in every two years in different countries so that contact and cooperation between translators may be maintained" (ibid.: 156) failed, the Warsaw Conference gave rise to two important Translation Committees

in the West: the PEN Translation Committee in New York (Chute 1971: 65) and the FIT Literary Translation Committee in Paris (Rusinek 1982: 259).[76]

The *Bulletin of New Books and Plays*, published between 1958 and 1969, was one more spin-off of the translators' convention.[77] Its aim was "to supply short but comprehensive information for overseas publishers, authors' and theatrical agents, and societies for the protection of copyright" (Foreword 1958: *s.n.*). Somewhat contradictory to what the title stated, the bulletin's focus did not lie exclusively with the latest literary achievements of contemporary Polish writers. Reprints of old books were also announced.[78] Moreover, in 1959, English and French versions of a compendium based on the unpublished Polish-language manuscript by Ryszard Matuszewski and devoted to contemporary Polish writers appeared. Brought out by the Polonia Publishing House and entitled respectively *Portraits of Contemporary Polish Writers* and *Portraits d'écrivains polonais contemporains*, the books were no doubt another outcome of the 1958 International Conference of Translators of Literary Works in Warsaw.

Apart from the idealistic and practical promotion of translation and the work of the translator, international organisations and gatherings were a great opportunity for cultural propaganda and mutual surveillance. Documents disclosed by Radio Free Europe contain a report on East European Delegates to the 30th PEN Congress in Frankfurt on the Main held on 16th July 1959. The report includes the profiles of Jan Parandowski, Michał Rusinek,

[76] A reverse situation took place in the general translation domain when Polish translators tried, from 1956, to register their own organization. It was with help from FIT that the registration was finally successful in January 1981. Luckily so, because in December of the same year martial law was introduced in Poland. See http://www.stp.org.pl/stowarzyszenie/historia-stowarzyszenia-tlumaczy-polskich.

[77] Initially published in a bilingual French-English edition (from the first issue of August/September 1958), it soon encompassed an additional German section (from January 1959). *Bulletin des livres nouveaux et pièces de théâtre* and *Bulletin literarischer Neuerscheinungen und Theaterstücke* were the corresponding French and German titles of the bulletin. Until 1964 only the French title featured on the front cover.

[78] Among the promoted authors were: Jerzy Andrzejewski, Miron Białoszewski, Jacek Bocheński, Helena Boguszewska, Tadeusz Borowski, Kazimierz Brandys, Marian Brandys, Andrzej Braun, Władysław Broniewski, Zofia Chądzyńska, Michał Choromański, Stanisław Czernik, Maria Dąbrowska, Jan Dobraczyński, Stanisław Dygat, Jerzy Ficowski, Arkady Fiedler, Kornel Filipowicz, Witold Gombrowicz, Stefania Grodzieńska, Henryk Grynberg, Julia Hartwig, Zbigniew Herbert, Leopold Infeld, Karol Irzykowski, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Paweł Jasienica, Ryszard Kapuściński, Julian Kawalec, Stefan Kisielewski, Leszek Kołakowski, Tadeusz Konwicki, Wacław Korabiewicz, Zofia Kossak, Jan Kott, Anna Kowalska, Urszula Kozioł, Jerzy Krzysztoń, Maria Kuncewiczowa, Andrzej Kuśniewicz, Magda Leja, Stanisław Lem, Wilchelm Mach, Kornel Makuszyński, Hanna Malewska, Wanda Melcer, Artur Międzyrzecki, Józef Morton, Sławomir Mrożek, Zofia Nałkowska, Igor Newerly, Tadeusz Nowak, Marek Nowakowski, Włodzimierz Odojewski, Agnieszka Osiecka, Jan Bolesław Ożóg, Jan Parandowski, Teodor Parnicki, Stanisław Piętak, Marian Pilot, Zofia Posmysz, Wanda Półtawska, Julian Przyboś, Sydor Rey, Natalia Rolleczek, Zofia Romanowiczowa, Tadeusz Różewicz, Adolf Rudnicki, Michał Rusinek, Magdalena Samozwaniec, Bruno Schulz, Antoni Słonimski, Anatol Stern, Julian Stryjkowski, Jan Józef Szczepański, Andrzej Szczypiorski, Ewa Szelburg-Zarembina, Seweryna Szmaglewska, Anna Świderek, Zygmunt Trziszka, Maria Ukniewska, Melchior Wańkowicz, Monika Warneńska, Bogdan Wojdowski, Gabriela Zapolska, Jerzy Zawieyski, Stefan Żeromski, Wojciech Żukrowski and many others.

Maria Dąbrowska, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Wojciech Natanson, where Rusinek and Iwaszkiewicz are identified as "regime men."[79]

Another important event at the junction of Polish and Anglo-American literary polysystems, took place in November 1957, when Monika Kościelska decided to call to life the Kościelski Foundation, whose aim was to support Polish literature by awarding financial prizes to young writers living either in Poland or abroad (Kallenbach 1984: 11). The Geneva-based foundation was connected to the CIA-sponsored Free Europe Committee through Zygmunt Kallenbach and George C. Minden (Reisch 2013: 106, 264, 340; Rakowski 2000: 130-132). The Kościelski Foundation was incorporated in 1961 and in 1962 the first literary prizes were given[80] and continue to be awarded annually.[81] The Statute of the Foundation requires that the winners be chosen by the Foundation Board, of which Zygmunt Kallenbach was the originally designated member. Between 1964 and 1984 he served as the President of the Foundation, to become the Honorary President until his death in 1988 (Rakowski 2000: 131). According to his own words, Kallenbach ensured that the Prizes were given not only to good writers but also to good Poles, who were or could get involved in the opposition in Poland (ibid.: 132). This political objective could explain why Wiesław Myśliwski was not taken into account as a candidate for the Prize (Błoński 1984: 42). On the other hand, Marek Hłasko was also excluded (ibid.: 40), but this was connected with the fact that he had already received many prizes, among them the *Kultura* Award, the *Wiadomości* Prize, as well as the *Grosser Preis der Verleger* in Germany (Boge 2009: 147). However, before 1989, the recipients of the Kościelski Prize represented a wide spectrum of creative talents, mainly due to the efforts of Maria Danilewicz-Zielińska, an avid and objective reader of Polish literature, émigré and domestic, the longtime Director of the Polish Library in London and a member of the Foundation's Board.

Indeed, the awarded authors came from both sides of the Iron Curtain, among them those whose books have never been published in English, like Andrzej Kijowski (1965), Tadeusz Nowak (1967),[82] Edward Stachura (1972)[83] or Edward Redliński (1974). Zygmunt

[79] See Attachment 11 (p. 388). Notwithstanding the suspicion associated with his name, Michał Rusinek went to the Unites States in 1960, invited there by Edmund Ordon from Detroit and a group of Poles from New York and Chicago. While in the capital, he stayed at the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, where he met his colleagues from the pre-war Polish Academy of Literature. However, PIASA's President, Oskar Halecki, decidedly criticised the admission of writers from the Polish People's Republic onto the premises of the Institute (Rusinek 1982: 140).

[80] One of the first recipients of the Kościelski Prize in 1962 was Sławomir Mrożek, who emigrated from People's Poland the following year.

[81] No Prizes were given in the years 1982 and 1987: http://www.koscielscy.pl/laureaci/.

[82] The fact that in 1967 all the awarded writers resided in Poland was met with surprise by the editors of *Kultura* ("Zaskakujace nagrody" 1967: 123).

Kallenbach writes that in order to safeguard a reliable selection of candidates living in Poland, Kajetan Morawski, the first President of the Foundation, tried to co-opt Jan Parandowski and Ludwik Hieronim Morstin as home literary experts (1984: 12). Although, this attempt was unsuccessful, since the two men were unable to attend the Board meetings, it may be assumed that the contact was maintained in a different way.[84]

1963 witnessed the foundation of yet another literary award for Polish literature in Switzerland: the Anna Godlewska Memorial Prize. Again, it was Zygmunt Kallenbach who was one of its most influential Committee members. Between 1963 and 1977, the Prize was awarded in such categories as the Literary Award, Translators Award, Journalists Award, Friendship Award, Social Award and Printer Award and was focused on émigré literary life as well as writers persecuted in Poland (Vincenz and Morkowski 1977: 79, 85-87).

Interestingly, the October Thaw of 1956 had a twofold result. On the one hand, it became much easier for Western anti-communist propagandists to obtain information discrediting this system by simply translating and reprinting renunciations of the stalinist period coming straight from *official* Polish sources.[85] On the other, the political détente between the East and West changed, if only with some delay and for a short time, the attitude of Anglo-American publishers towards Polish literature to a more lenient one. This brief turn in Anglo-American publishing policy did not escape the attention of Jerzy Giedroyc. In a letter from 22nd October 1961 he wrote to Czesław Miłosz:

> I cannot count on American help. This is already obvious to me. All institutions interested in these matters [East-West political affairs] (I'm thinking about [the] Ford [Foundation], [the] Congress [for Cultural Freedom], etc, not FE [the Free Europe Committee]) want to cooperate with Gomułka and have good relations with the régime. But even FE, which conducts massive mailings of books to Poland, sends only those books which do not arouse the censor's suspicion. The height of absurdity. (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2008: 530; trans. mine)

[83] It was mainy due to Danilewicz-Zielińska's support that Stachura received the Kościelski Prize (Danilewicz-Zielińska 2000: 14).

[84] The need to stay informed about literary trends in Poland was met among others by *Przewodnik po literaturze krajowej* by Alicja Lisiecka (1975), a collection of book reviews published in the émigré press between 1970 and 1973. See Alicja Lisiecka, *Przewodnik po literaturze krajowej*, London: Gryf Publications, 1975.

[85] For example literary pieces of political import from *Nowa Kultura*, *Przegląd Kulturalny* and *Twórczość* often found their way to the *East Europe* magazine published by the CIA-sponsored Free Europe Press, to be anthologised later in such collections as Paweł Mayewski's *The Broken Mirror: A Collection of Writings from Contemporary Poland* (1958) or Edmund O. Stillman's *Bitter Harvest: The Intellectual Revolt behind the Iron Curtain* (1959).

In the domain of Polish-English literary translation, the relaxation in East-West relations was epitomised by the appearance of Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today* (1962) and Celina Wieniewska's *Polish Writing Today* (1967), both anthologies featuring a selection of the most interesting literary specimens written exclusively by authors based in Poland. However, the ease in hostile East-West attitudes was about to finish and the old state of affairs in Cold War publishing policies became redressed when in 1967 Giedroyc was approached by the New-York based Free Press,[86] by then a division of Macmillan Company, and offered the publication of selected texts from *Kultura* (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2011: 124 and 130). Asked by Giedroyc for advice on the possible shape of the anthology and his willingness to participate in the publishing project, Miłosz responded:

> You ask about my participation. Without any doubt I consider myself a *Kultura* author and I would like to be there [in the anthology] with the others. Still, I have not the slightest idea of the nature of this enterprise, e.g. who is going to appear there or who the addressee is, so how can I answer your request? For me, anyway, these are matters of publishing policy, not politics. If I were doing it, I'd make an émigré *pendant* to the English-language anthologies, which omit émigré writers: Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind* and Wieniewska's *Polish Writing Today*. From my stuff, the American reader would be most interested in: *Listy do Niemców* 63 or the bit about Conrad's father 100, or *Thomas Mayne Reid* 191, or *Valka*, or *Brognart* 183/184, or a fragment from *Dolina Issy*. But this depends on the overall composition. *The Modern Polish Mind* would probably be the best model. (ibid.: 156-157; trans. mine)

The outcome of these publishing plans were two companion anthologies: *Explorations in Freedom: Prose, Narrative and Poetry from Kultura* (1970) and *Kultura Essays* (1970), edited by Leopold Tyrmand with considerable help from Jerzy Giedroyc.[87] Both volumes were published by the Free Press in co-operation with the State University of New York at Albany and Collier-Macmillan in London. As Giedroyc commented: "It is possible that these are Cold War institutions, financed by the CIA. I know nothing about it and still, I'm taking that risk" (ibid.: 130; trans. mine).

[86] Not to be mistaken with the Free Europe Press, which had its headquarters in Munich.
[87] In fact, it was Giedroyc who was responsible for the selection of the *Kultura* texts, Tyrmand took care of supervising the translators' work. See Giedroyc and Miłosz 2011: 329 and Giedroyc 1994: 197.

1.5. 1964–1975

The period between 1964 and 1975 was punctuated by many dramatic occurences on both sides of the Iron Curtain. In the United States the abuses of law and power by the country's intelligence services led to them being investigated by two US Senate Select Committees: the Katzenbach Committee (1967)[88] and the Church Committee (1975-1976), resulting in serious modifications in the ways in which anti-communist operations were being financed, also in the sphere of cultural propaganda. In turn, events in Polish political history found their reflection in literature and its English translation. For example, the plot of Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Apelacja* (1968; *The Appeal*, 1971) drew on the judicial murder committed in 1965 on Stanisław Wawrzecki, convicted for corruption in the trading of meat, while Andrzej Szczypiorski's metaphorical novel *Msza za miasto Arras* (1971; *A Mass for Arras*, 1993) was inspired by the repressions of Jews in Poland in the second half of the 1960s.

In 1964, thirty-four Polish intellectuals, academics and writers, signed a letter of protest to the Prime Minister, Józef Cyrankiewicz, in which they expressed dissatisfaction with the diminishing of paper rations on books and periodicals, as well as with the tightening censorship of the press. They postulated the right to freedom of expression and wanted a change in cultural policy to be introduced in compliance with the Polish Constitution. Among the signatories of the so-called "Letter of the 34" were such writers as Antoni Słonimski (the author of the letter), Jerzy Andrzejewski, Maria Dąbrowska, Stanisław Dygat, Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, Anna Kowalska, Stanisław Cat Mackiewicz, Jan Parandowski, Adolf Rudnicki, Artur Sandauer, Melchior Wańkowicz and Adam Ważyk. Jan Józef Lipski collected the signatures.

Paradoxically, 1964 marks one of the most important achievements in the field of translation patronage in Poland, when *Agencja Autorska* (the Author's Agency) was established. Founded as a branch of the Polish Society of Authors and Composers ZAiKS, it represented the interests of Polish authors and was responsible for selling options and protecting copyright to their works in translation. Until 1981, in collaboration with the Polish PEN Club, the Polish Writers' Union, ZAiKS and the Ministry of Culture and Arts, the Author's Agency managed to organise four International Congresses of Translators of Polish Literature, which took place in 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1979 respectively.

[88] The Committee was named after the undersecretary of state, Nicholas Katzenbach, who chaired the investigations of "all clandestine financing by the CIA." Apart from Katzenbach, the committee consisted of "secretary of health, education and welfare John Gardner; and CIA director Richard Helms" (Stonor Saunders 2013: 341).

1964 was also the year in which the first Roy Publishers Awards were given in New York. Roy, the American continuation of the pre-war Warsaw-based Rój publishing house, was run by the independently-minded Marian Kister and his wife Hanna. Before the war, Rój was the publisher of Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński, Zofia Kossak, Maria Kuncewiczowa, Zofia Nałkowska, Jan Parandowski, Stanisław Vincenz and Melchior Wańkowicz. Wańkowicz was also Rój's co-owner. Moreover, Kister was the first to bring out novels by such novice writers as Jerzy Andrzejewski, Pola Gojawiczyńska, Witold Gombrowicz, Adolf Rudnicki, Czesław Straszewski, Bruno Schulz and Adam Ważyk. While in the United States, the Kisters published, among other titles, English translations of works by Zofia Kossak, Maria Kuncewiczowa and Stanisław Vincenz.

In her memoirs, *"Pegazy na Kredytowej"*, Hanna Kister recalls that she decided to found literary translation awards from Polish into English and from English into Polish in honour of her late husband (1980: 137); hence, they are also known as Marian Kister Memorial Awards (Biographical Sketches 1971: 375). However, the actual organiser of the awarding ceremonies, six years after Marian Kister's death, was the PEN American Center (Kister 1980: 137-139 and "Komunikaty" 1965a: 214). Ostensibly called to life in order to commemorate Marian Kister and celebrate the 40th anniversary of Roy ("Komunikaty" 1965a: 214), in fact, the Roy Publishers Awards were part of the sophisticated propaganda network masterminded by such Cold Warriors, to employ the term used by Frances Stonor Saunders (2013: 18 et passim), as Lewis Galantière[89] or Paweł Mayewski[90] (Kister 1980: 137-139). Organisers of cultural life on both sides of the Iron Curtain tried to assume the role of patron supporters of arts and letters, while simultaneously exploiting culture for politically strategic purposes.

Altogether four awarding ceremonies of the Roy Awards were held: in 1964 ("Komunikaty" 1965a: 214-215), in 1966 ("Komunikaty" 1966a: 198), in 1968

[89] As the biographical sketch in the anonymously edited collection of papers delivered at the Conference on Literary Translation held in New York in May 1970 stated: "Galantière, for nearly half a century, has had one foot in international affairs and the other in literary. […] He was a director of the American Translators Association from 1962 to 1965, and, as president of the American PEN [1965-1967], organized the XXXIV International PEN Congress, held in New York in June, 1966" (Biographical Sketches 1971: 371). As for Galantière's role in international affairs, for many years he was a Political Adviser in the Free Europe Committee. See Attachments 7 (pp. 380-383), 9 (p. 385-386), 12 (p. 389) and 13 (p. 390-391).

[90] Together with Jan Kempka, Paweł Mayewski edited the Polish-language cultural quarterly *Tematy*, published in New York between 1962 and 1969, with financial and ideological help from Daniel Bell, Karl Shapiro and Lionel Trilling, his friends from the Free Europe Committee (Karkowski 2013: 146-148). Trilling and Bell were the witting members of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which means they knew that the CCF was "the child of a covert CIA operation" (Stonor Saunders 2013: 331-332). Shapiro was the editor of the *Poetry* magazine in the years 1950-1955, which belonged to the Congress's "world family of magazines" together with *Partisan Review*, *Kenyon Review*, *Hudson Review*, *Sewanee Review*, the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, and *Daedalus* among others (ibid.: 280).

("Komunikaty" 1968: 132-133) and in 1970 (Kister 1980: 138).[91] One of the laureates of the first ceremony was Celina Wieniewska, who was recognised for her translation of *Sklepy cynamonowe* (1933/1934) by Bruno Schulz[92] ("Komunikaty" 1965a: 214). Thus, Wieniewska became the first translator of Polish literature into English to be given a prize specially dedicated to literary translation.[93] On the same occasion three extra prizes of political purport were presented for Polish renditions of American poetry published in one of the following émigré press titles: Mieczysław Grydzewski's *Wiadomości* (London), Jerzy Giedroyc's *Kultura* (Paris) and Paweł Mayewski's *Tematy* (New York). These awards went to Wacław Iwaniuk, Czesław Miłosz and Stanisław Vincenz respectively ("Komunikaty" 1965a: 215). In 1966, the main award for the Polish-English rendition was given to Kenneth R. Mackenzie for making the Polish national epic *Pan Tadeusz* (1834; *Pan Tadeusz or The Last Foray in Lithuania*, 1964) accessible to the Anglo-American reader in verse. The additional award again was of a political nature: an honorary distinction was conferred on David John Welsh for his translation of the complete version of *Wyspa ocalenia* by Włodzimierz Odojewski, which appeared in Poland in a censored shape because of its mentioning the Soviet crime in Katyń.[94]

Unlike other ventures of that kind (Kościelski Prize, Jurzykowski Awards), Roy Publishers Awards proved to be short-lived, since the proceedings from the publishing business were not big enough to establish a foundation akin to the Kościelski, Jurzykowski or Wanda Roehr Foundations, the last-mentioned one subsequently merging with the Kościuszko Foundation (Karkowski 2013: 116-120). More importantly, any openly political cooperation with Hanna Kister was out of the question.

The Alfred Jurzykowski Awards, given for the first time in 1964 (Ziffer 1965: 109), recognised and honoured outstanding achievements in a much larger scope of fields, ranging from the sciences to the humanities and arts, including, from 1965, translation ("Alfred Jurzykowski…" 1965: 124-125; "Komunikaty" 1965b: 133-134). The fact that the first Alfred

[91] Although they make fascinating reading, Hanna Kister's memoirs *"Pegazy na Kredytowej"* contain a mistaken chronology of the preceding awards. The last date, however, seems to be precise, as confirmed in Daniel C. Gerould's *curriculum vitae* (ca 2000). Together with Christopher S. Durer, Gerould was the recipient of the 1970 Roy Publishers Award for the translation of *Wariat i zakonnica* (1923; *The Madman and the Nun and Other Plays*, 1968) by Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz.

[92] Wieniewska's translation of the book was published in 1963 in London by MacGibbon and Kee as *Cinnamon Shops and Other Stories*. In the same year it appeared in New York by Walker Publishing Company as *The Street of Crocodiles* and since then it has been reissued under this title. Before the foundation of the Walker Publishing Company, Samuel S. Walker was the director of the Free Europe Press.

[93] See Appendix 1 (p. 295).

[94] *Wyspa ocalenia* was published in English translation in 1965, both in the UK and in the USA. The British title read *No Island of Salvation* (Harvill Press), while the American one corresponded to the original, bitterly ironic *Island of Salvation* (Harcourt, Brace & World).

Jurzykowski Awards for translation were granted in the same year as the first ZAiKS Prizes shows the Cold War tactics of mirroring the enemy's moves in order to offer, by similar means, an alternative set of values to that of the opponent's. Initially known as the Jurzykowski Millennium Awards, the prizes were founded in anticipation of the one thousandth anniversary of Polish statehood. The millennial celebrations lasted from 1963 to 1966,[95] but the prizes continued to be presented as Jurzykowski Foundation Awards until 1998.

In his speech honoring the recipients of the Second Jurzykowski Millennium Awards, Rudolf Rathaus, "the 'grey eminence' of the [Alfred Jurzykowski] Foundation […] instrumental in establishing the Millennium prizes" (Wittlin 1969: 26), stated:

> I believe that it is our duty and pleasure to present to this splendid assembly our way of thinking about the awards which we are distributing in connection with Poland's Millennium. Firstly: The awards should serve the artists and scientists who will receive them. […] Secondly: Inspired by the Pulitzer Prize, we decided to present each year during the 1963-1966 Millennium a list of Polish names and a number of works, which by national and international standards deserve attention in the United States. […] Much has been done by existing programs for cultural exchange such as "People to People," "Government Agreements," "Fulbright Exchange" and other worthy projects. Ours is different and, perhaps, more limited. […] Thirdly: As you know, in consequence of the last war a great part of Poland's intelligentsia who participated in the fight in the West, remained in the Western countries, among them prominent writers, scholars, scientists, musicians, painters and performing artists. Many of them who left Poland in 1939 or later constitute today outstanding names in Polish literature, the visual arts and music, continuing their creative work outside of Poland. Literally hundreds of their books in Polish have been published in the West during this past quarter century. Some of them have been translated into as many as twenty languages. Daily, weekly and monthly publications in London and Paris are flourishing because they are considered important not only by the Poles, but by Frenchmen and Englishmen as well. […] *And yet, after twenty years very little of all this is known in Poland, and we believe it is time that the public of that country be made aware of the many dynamic Polish talents flourishing in foreign countries*. It is time that the Polish poet living abroad should be able to reach his readers in Poland, that a painter or sculptor should be able to exhibit his work in Warsaw or Cracow, that symphony orchestras should include in their repertoires works of Polish composers who live in other countries. By means of our awards we undertake the task of signalizing to Poland which authors and

[95] It was also on this occasion that *Polish Literature in English Translation: A Bibliography: 960-1960* (1963), compiled and edited by Marion Moore Coleman, was published by Cherry Hill Books, a publishing house Coleman ran with her husband and translator of Polish literature into English, Arthur Prudden Coleman.

> what works have earned acclaim and are to be regarded as important to Polish culture. These are our aims. (1966: 123-124; emphasis added)[96]

Although the great divide between the Poles living in and outside Poland during the Cold War has never been fully bridged, the Jurzykowski Awards certainly epitomised the change in relations between these two groups and marked a breakthrough in the isolationist attitude expressed, with reference to literature, in resolutions adopted in 1947 and 1956 by the Union of Polish Writers in Exile. But however idealistic the formulations of the Foundation's aims were, politics influenced many choices. The political importance of the Jurzykowski Awards finds confirmation in the letter from President Lyndon B. Johnson to the Jurzykowski Foundation, dated January 18th 1967:

> The presentation of the Jurzykowski Foundation Millennium Awards reminds us eloquently of the proud chapter which Americans of Polish descent have written into our nation's history. The collective contribution of this impressive roster of recipients vividly reflects the creative spirit that prompted and perpetuated the work of those before them. I readily acknowledge the service each has rendered. And I am gratified by such constructive resolve to make the record of past achievements the source of unending inspiration for us all. Those who are now honored have forged a springboard for tomorrow's progress. For this I salute you. And for the challenge that lies beyond, I ask your sustained support. (1969: 12)

The last sentence of Johnson's letter points clearly to the common goal of bringing down communism, shared by the founding members of the Jurzykowski Foundation and the American government. This goal was supposed to be achieved by showing openness to people living and working in Poland who had never been staunch communists or who, like Antoni Słonimski, became disillusioned with that ideology. In 1966, during the dinner honouring the recipients of the Second Annual Millennium Award, Józef Wittlin, the co-recipient of the Special Award for Entirety of Creative Work together with Antoni Słonimski, said:

> It is especially a great privilege to find myself in the company of Antoni Słonimski, the accomplished poet, playwright and satirist. During the twenty-year period between the two World Wars Słonimski and I were "comrades-in-arms," although our arms were of quite different kind. His was a firm belief in progress and in the goodness of human nature, therefore, his disappointments were much more painful than are mine and resulted often in bitter irony. But Słonimski's humanism or rather humanitarianism and his belief that scientific evolution would automatically bring mankind salvation on *this earth* was

[96] Reprinted in Rathaus (ca 1967).

> always sincere, genuine and noble and expressed in the purest of poetry. (1969: 26; original emphasis)

In the same speech Wittlin summarised the essence of how the Jurzykowski Foundation Awards in the field of literature were perceived:

> There is only *one* Polish literature whether it is written in Poland or outside of Poland. The Millennium prizes of the Jurzykowski Foundation are the most noble confirmation of this truth. Judging by this year's prizewinners, we artists and writers of the Polish emigration are in an overwhelming minority. And I am particularly pleased to see here among our distinguished guests at this dinner two of my younger colleagues from Poland, both excellent writers, Mr. Stanisław Dygat and Mr. Janusz Minkiewicz. (ibid.: 27; original emphasis)

The recipients of the Jurzykowski Awards for Polish-English translation include: David John Welsh (1965),[97] Clark Mills McBurney (1966),[98] Adam Gillon (1967), Bolesław Taborski (1968), Norbert Guterman (1969),[99] Daniel C. Gerould (1974), Marion Moore Coleman (1975), Catherine S. Leach (1977), Louis Iribarne (1979),[100] Richard Lourie (1993)[101] and Lillian B. Vallee (1993).[102] No awards for translation were given in the years 1982-1986, 1988-1992, 1994-1995, nor in 1998. Also émigré publishers, such as Czesław and Krystyna Bednarczyk in London (1970), Anatol Girs in Detroit (1972) and Kazimierz Romanowicz in Paris (1988), received the Jurzykowski Awards for General Cultural Achievements.[103]

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[97] Until 1965, Welsh translated Wacław Zagórski's *Wicher wolności* (1957; *Seventy Days*, 1957); Leopold Tyrmand's *Zły* (1955; *Zly*, 1958, British title / *The Man with the White Eyes*, 1958, American title) and *Siedem dalekich rejsów* (1975; *The Seven Long Voyages*, 1959); Kazimierz Brandys's *Matka królów* (1957; *Sons and Comrades*, 1961); Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Popiół i diament* (1948; *Ashes and Diamonds*, 1962); and Włodzimierz Odojewski's *Wyspa ocalenia* (1964/2008; *Island of Salvation* / *No Island of Salvation*, 1965).

[98] Clark Mills McBurney (1913-1986), an American poet publishing under the name Clark Mills, most probably did not know Polish himself. He figures as an editor of English renditions of poems by Adam Mickiewicz, Jan Lechoń and Kazimierz Wierzyński, whose original translators must have been Mary Phelps, Ludwik Krzyżanowski and others.

[99] Among others, Guterman was awarded for the rendition of Marek Hłasko's *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* (1963; *The Eighth Day of the Week*, 1958), *Cmentarze* (1958; *The Graveyard*, 1959) and *Następny do raju* (1958; *Next Stop Paradise*, 1960); and Tadeusz Nowakowski's *Obóz Wszystkich Świętych* (1957; *The Camp of All Saints*, 1962).

[100] Iribarne's translations from Polish literature include Stanisław Lem's *Katar* (1976; *The Chain of Chance*, 1978) and *Opowieści o pilocie Pirxie* (1968, *Tales of Pirx the Pilot*, 1979), as well as Czesław Miłosz's *Dolina Issy* (1955; *The Issa Valley*, 1981).

[101] Among Richard Lourie's renditions are the following titles: Tadeusz Konwicki's *Kompleks polski* (1977; *The Polish Complex*, 1982), *Mała apokalipsa* (1979; *A Minor Apocalypse*, 1983), *Wschody i zachody księżyca* (1982; *Moonrise, Moonset*, 1987) and *Bohiń* (1987; *Bohin Manor*, 1990), Andrzej Szczypiorski's *Msza za miasto Arras* (1971; *A Mass for Arras*, 1993), and Henryk Grynberg's *Zwycięstwo* (1969; *The Victory*, 1993).

[102] Until 1993 Lillian B. Vallee's most important achievement was the translation of three volumes of Witold Gombrowicz's *Dziennik* (1957/1962/1971; *Diary*, 1988/1989/1993).

[103] On Jerzy Giedroyc's and Czesław Miłosz's lobbying for their candidates to the Jurzykowski Awards for translation and literary achievements see Giedroyc and Miłosz 2012: 127.

In Poland, a new translation award, the ZAiKS Prize in Translation for renditions of Polish literature into foreign languages, was introduced during the 1st International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature, held in November 1965 in Warsaw and Kraków (*Kwartalnik Informacyjny ZAiKS* 1965: 85-87; *Materiały z II Międzynarodowego*… 1970: 25).[104] An extended coverage of the event appeared in Polish in *Kwartalnik Informacyjny*, a quarterly published by ZAiKS (1965: 5-96), followed by a résumé in French (*Kwartalnik Informacyjny ZAiKS* 1965: 157-173). Sixty translators from twenty countries representing thirty different languages arrived to attend the Congress and meet their authors (Woydyłło 1965: 8).[105] After the official opening, the President of the Polish Writers' Union, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, talked about the importance of translations and translators, whereas Michał Rusinek, the Secretary General of the Polish PEN Club and the Managing Director of the Author's Agency, presented a paper on the range of Polish literature in translation in the world.[106]

One of surprising points in Rusinek's speech was that attempts to subsidise translations of Polish literature in order to introduce them onto foreign markets, "did not bring the expected results." Rusinek concluded that:

> [subsidising translations of Polish literature] rarely helps, but rather fences the author off from the foreign reader. Books are an ambitious object of circulation and they are best carried to the world by a free, unconstrained flow, by their inherent value and attractiveness. Pushing books forcefully abroad will not help. However, we should finance their promotion. (1965: 26; trans. mine)[107]

In the light of the fact that "[u]ntil 1989 the literary translation market [in the "people's democracies"] was regulated by reciprocal bilateral agreements at ministerial level, according to which Polish publishers were obliged to bring out a definite number of Romanian, Czech or Bulgarian books," in return for Polish authors being published in the

[104] For this occasion, the front cover of the October issue of the *Bulletin of New Books and Plays*, offered to all participants of the Congress, featured a special welcoming formula. See Attachment 14 (p. 392).

[105] The number of translators present at the 1st Congress varies according to the source. The introduction to the proceedings from the 4th International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature gives information about fifty participants of the 1st Congress (*IV Międzynarodowy Zjazd*…, 1980: 3).

[106] All of the opening speeches can be found in *Kwartalnik Informacyjny ZAiKS* 1965: 11-32.

[107] In the Polish original Rusinek uses the word *propaganda* for "promotion." In the 1960s the Polish word *propaganda* did not have an exclusively negative meaning, although it already carried negative connotations. The word popularly used today would be *promocja* or *propagowanie*. The opinion put forward by Rusinek prevailed in Polish-Anglophone literary translation relations until 1998 when Zespół Literacki "polska2000" (later transformed into the Polish Book Institute) started its ©POLAND Translation Program, offering up to a 100% subsidy of the translation costs and/or up to a 100% of the cost of the acquisition of rights. The programme is aimed at publishers, which guarantees the translated book's appearance on the market and proves to be an effective strategy of promoting Polish literature through translation.

other country (Sobolewska 2015: 83; trans. mine), it is hard to believe in the "free, unconstrained flow" of literature called for by the Author's Agency's Director. It seems more probable that Rusinek's declaration was a veiled reference to American subsidies of anti-communist literature, targeted at guests from capitalist countries.

The Cold War bias of the Polish host was also revealed in a bibliography of translations of Polish literature, *Literatura polska w świecie: bibliografia przekładów 1945-1961* (1965), edited by Janina Wilgat and launched by the Polish PEN Club specially for the Congress.[108] Neither the bibliography, nor the huge map which adorned the wall behind the conference table, reflected the true range of Polish literature in translation.[109] The reasons for this state of affairs were both purely practical – the bibliography only presented renditions published in book form (Wilgat 1965: xi) – as well as ideological, since translations of books written by Polish émigrés had not been taken into account. This must have been irritating, especially for the translators who represented the West, among them Henry Charles Stevens[110] from the UK, Professor Edmund Ordon from Wayne State University in Detroit and Paweł Mayewski from the USA, the Editor-in-Chief of the CIA-sponsored quarterly *Tematy*, which featured Polish translations of articles from the American and West-European press on political, social and cultural affairs (Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 642-643).[111] Not surprisingly, this omission amounted to several hundred titles, which was revealed in the foreword to the second, extended and supplemented, bibliography, *Polska literatura w przekładach: bibliografia 1945-1970* (1972) by Ludomira Ryll and Janina Wilgat (Rusinek 1972: 9).[112]

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[108] Initiatives aiming at the documentation of renditions of Polish writing into English were also taken abroad. The following bibliographies can be mentioned: Eleanor Edwards Ledbetter's *Polish Literature in English Translations: A Bibliography with a List of Books about Poland and the Poles* (1932), Marion Moore Coleman's *Polish Literature in English Translation: A Bibliography: 960-1960* (1963), Jerzy J. Maciuszko's *The Polish Short Story in English: A Guide and Critical Bibliography* (1968), Janina W. Hoskins's *Polish Books in English: 1945-1971* (1974) or Kirkley S. Coulter's *Polish Literature Recently Translated: A Bibliography* (1977). The Polish Library in London, for many years directed by Maria Danilewicz-Zielińska, also collected information on Polish literature in translation into foreign languages ("Komunikaty" 1966b: 125).

[109] See Attachment 15 (p. 393).

[110] Henry Charles Stevens (1896-1972) was a translator of Russian and Polish literature. During the First World War he was a conscientious objector on religious grounds, for which he was consequently imprisoned. From August 1919 to September 1924 he worked with the Polish, Russian and joint British and American Units of the Friends War Victims' Relief Committee on a number of aid projects based in Warsaw, Minsk, Buzuluk and Moscow. On his return to Britain, Stevens wrote articles and lectured on his experiences. From 1929 to 1935 he was a research worker in England for the Marx-Engels Institute. From 1940 to 1945 he worked as an editor and translator for the Polish Government in Exile in London in the Ministry of Information (Stevens Collection, UCL Archives: http://www.ssees.ucl.ac.uk/ archives/ste.htm). Name variants adopted by the translator include: Stephen Garry, Harry Stevens or Horace Stevens.

[111] See Attachment 16 (p. 394).

[112] The 1972 bibliography (Ryll and Wilgat), published by the Author's Agency, appeared uncensored due to "the short period of thaw" under Edward Gierek's government in the years 1971-1973 (Bilikiewicz-Blanc 2008:

The working sessions held during the Congress were devoted to contemporary Polish prose, contemporary Polish poetry, new names in Polish literature and Polish twentieth-century drama.[113] At the end of the Warsaw part of the Congress, the translators, among them Henry Charles Stevens and Edmund Ordon, read out fragments of their renditions of Polish literature. Even though the general feedback from the Anglophone participants was very positive, those connected with the Free Europe Committee included, the Cold War tension between the East and the West resurfaced in one of the debates when somebody asked Edmund Ordon why Polish authors were being published in the United States without their consent. Ordon replied that it was the authors' fault, as they often forgot to place the copyright note in their books (*Kwartalnik Informacyjny ZAiKS* 1965: 42).

One of the most important Congress events was the introduction of the ZAiKS Prize in Translation for literary renditions from Polish into foreign languages (*Kwartalnik Informacyjny ZAiKS* 1965: 85-87; *Materiały z II Międzynarodowego*… 1970: 25).[114] The first laureates were Jāzeps Osmanis, for his renditions of Polish literature into Latvian, and Jan Pilař for translating Polish authors into Czech. On this occasion Edmund Ordon declared that America was also thinking of introducing translation prizes.[115] He also stated that:

> The Nobel Prize is awarded on the basis of translations. An international award for translation should be founded, equally important as the one given in Sweden. FIT, under Zlatko Gorjan, is trying to bring this project to fruition. Other countries should join FIT in order to raise the prestige of the translator. (*Kwartalnik Informacyjny ZAiKS* 1965: 82; trans. mine)[116]

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xvi). This "was possible thanks to systematic registration of translations of Polish literature into foreign languages in successive yearbooks of the current Foreign Polonica [*Polonica Zagraniczne*] bibliography, from 1956 until 1989 meant only 'for official use,' though because of that printed without the censor's interference" (ibid.). After the thaw turned into ice again, there was no opportunity to continue the project. The bibliographies for the years 1971-1980 and 1981-2004 were not published until 2008 and 2005 respectively.

[113] The papers presented at the working sessions can be found in *Kwartalnik Informacyjny ZAiKS* 1965: 33-84.

[114] The ZAiKS Prize in Translation for renditions of foreign literary works into Polish was introduced in 1972 (*IV Międzynarodowy Zjazd*…, 1980: 13). Maciej Słomczyński was its first recipient ("Chronicle" 1973: 46).

[115] In fact, such awards had already existed, as in 1963 PEN American, based in New York City, gave its own first Book-of-the-Month Club Translation Prize, later renamed PEN Translation Prize. Also, the first Roy Publishers Awards for translation were already bestowed in 1964. Ordon, who cooperated with the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, must have meant the Jurzykowski Millennium Award for translators (known from 1967 as the Alfred Jurzykowski Award). The Institute was empowered by the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation "to select Poles and persons of Polish origin, regardless of their place of residence […] for outstanding achievements in the fields of letters, arts and science" ("Alfred Jurzykowski…" 1965: 124). In 1967, the National Book Awards for Translation were established and continued to be given until 1983. No translator of Polish literature was honoured with this translation prize, but Michael Kandel became the finalist in 1975 for the rendition of Stanislaw Lem's *Cyberiada* (1965; *The Cyberiad*, 1974) and *Kongres futurologiczny* (1971; *The Futurological Congress*, 1974), while in 1982 Louis Iribarne was listed among the finalists for the English version of Czesław Miłosz's *Dolina Issy* (1955; *The Issa Valley*, 1981).

[116] Interestingly enough, the feasibility of a similar project, aimed at creating a European award, was examined in 2010 by a team of experts led by Rüdiger Wischenbart. The study concluded: "It must be clear that the creation of such an award will need both a strong partner in the media to support the necessary promotion, and a sponsor

Besides establishing the ZAiKS Prize, the Congress resulted in two important publications of literary periodicals. One of them was a special issue of *ARENA* (March 1967), entirely devoted to Polish literature and art; the other, a bilingual quarterly *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise*, published by the Author's Agency.

The first of the two publications, *ARENA*, appeared between 1961 and 1964, brought out by the PEN Centre for Writers in Exile and later, until 1967, by the International Writers Fund of PEN with David Carver as the Fund's Director and Paul Tabori serving as his Secretary. Respective issues of *ARENA* presented either national literatures or specific genres in various literary traditions. The 1967 March edition featured papers on contemporary Polish prose, the historical novel, poets of contemporary Poland, the Polish poetic avant-garde and satire, as well as on Polish cinema and drama. After the Polish issue, *ARENA* closed. This must have been purely coincidental for the Polish side, but not for David Carver, not only the Director of the International Writers Fund, but also the General Secretary of International PEN, liaised with the CIA (Stonor Saunders 2013: 305).[117] March 1967 was the time when the final report of the Katzenbach Committee was officially submitted to President Lyndon B. Johnson, following the public revelations about the CIA being the secret instigator and financial backer of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The report concluded that "it should be the policy of the U.S. government that no federal agency shall provide any covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or private voluntary organisations" (ibid.: 341). Stonor Saunders writes that:

> The Kaztenbach report has been widely referred to as the instrument by which the government enjoined the CIA in future from this type of activity. But the CIA had a very different interpretation of what it could do in the post-Kaztenbach era. According to the Select Committee Report on Government Intelligence Activities of 1976 [*Final Report of the Church Committee*], deputy director of plans Desmond FitzGerald circulated the following guidance to all field offices after the report was published: "a. Covert relations with commercial U.S. organizations are not, repeat, not barred. b. Covert funding overseas of foreign-based international organizations is permitted." In other words, in the field of international covert operations, nothing at all had changed. Thus, when the CIA decided to continue funding Forum World Features (a Congress for Cultural Freedom spin-off) beyond 1967, it did so with no impediment. (ibid.)

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prepared to take over a significant part of the cost of the project. If these requirements cannot be fulfilled, alternative options to launching such an award should be considered" (Wischenbart *et al*. 2010: 116).

[117] For more on the CIA's infiltration of the International PEN and funding of the American PEN Centre see the chapter "Pen Friends" in *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (Stonor Saunders 2013: 302-309). Ironically, the Polish issue of *ARENA* was printed by the October Revolution Press in Warsaw.

Additionally, point 3 of the Memorandum From the Deputy Director for Plans of the Central Intelligence Agency to All Staff Chiefs and Division Chiefs, gives the following guideline concerning CIA-sponsored publications:

> We will, under no circumstances, publish books, magazines or newspapers in the U.S. *Fallout in the U.S. from a foreign publication which we support is inevitable and consequently permissible*. Should a defector publish a book in the U.S., he may do so on his own; publication will not be supported by [the] CIA. (FitzGerald 1967: doc. 264; emphasis added)

In the Agency's jargon "fallout" meant English-language propaganda material, produced outside the Unites States and not meant, at least officially, to target its own people. The same document points to the prospective use of alternative funding sources, suggested by the Katzenbach Committee, when it reads:

> The Katzenbach Committee, in reviewing our CA [Covert Action] program, decided that *certain of our activities must be discontinued and others must be transferred from CIA to public or legitimate private funding or, in some instances, a mix of public-private funding*.[118] Terminations and transfers must be accomplished, largely, by 31 December 1967. Each component will be provided with a specific listing of activities under its control which fall within the above guidelines. (ibid.; emphasis added)

Indeed, 1967 was the year in which many previously CIA-sponsored projects were cut-off from their original financing source.[119] However, at the same time numerous new international projects were set up, for instance the International Writing Program in Iowa.[120]

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[118] Referring to the financial help for Stanisław Swianiewicz, Jerzy Giedroyc wrote to Czesław Miłosz: "I'm glad that you secured the grant for Swianiewicz. […] The complications with transferring the money are understandable: not all foundations have the right to send money outside the US and one has to search for middlemen. For example, our benefactor from your recommendation (I haven't heard from him for ages), Charles Merrill, made his donations exclusively *via* the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in N(ew) Y(ork), since they had the right to do it, while his [Merrill's] Boston Foundation did not" (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2012: 126; trans. mine).

[119] In order to "shelter certain high-priority operations from the Katzenbach prohibitions and to devise more secure funding mechanisms […] the Agency 'surge funded' a number of organisations, giving them advances before the December deadline which carried them in some cases for up to two years of operations. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were so funded" (*Final Report of* …1976: 187). It seems that Paweł Mayewski's Polish-language quarterly *Tematy* was also funded in this way. The last, double issue of *Tematy* (31-32) came out in 1969 and exceptionally contained pieces by Polish writers only.

[120] Eric Bennett thus writes about the origins and main aims of the IWP: "[…] once upon a time (1967, to be exact), Paul Engle [the IWP's founder] received money from the Farfield Foundation to support international writing at the University of Iowa. The Farfield Foundation was not really a foundation; it was a CIA front that supported cultural operations, mostly in Europe, through an organization called the Congress for Cultural Freedom" (Bennett 2014). "According to Christopher Merrill, the current director of IWP, the 1967 grant was for $7,000 and was spread over two years" (Bennett 2015: 113), which points to the post-Katzenbach report 'surge-funding' mechanism, widely used by the CIA. "Engle constantly invoked the need to bring foreign writers to

Apart from the special Polish edition of *ARENA*, being at the same time *ARENA*'s last, the bilingual quarterly *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise* was another important outcome of the 1965 Congress of Translators of Polish Literature. Its first July–September issue appeared in 1968. In the opening note from the publishers, Michał Rusinek, the Director of the Authors' Agency and the Editor-in-Chief of the quarterly wrote:

> Offering the first issue of *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise*, we feel it only right to give our readers a few words of information by way of introduction. Poland's postwar literature has been attracting an ever growing interest outside of Poland. Manifest evidence of this fact are the large number of translations of Polish novels, poetry, stage comedies, television dramas and others, as well as the plethora of letters to the Author's Agency from foreign publishers and translators which contain inquiries regarding the latest Polish literature that might be of interest to foreign readers and worthy of translation. Fully aware of the obvious foreign demand for some form of regular bulletin, the Author's Agency developed the idea of a quarterly report on current literary production in Poland.[121] Called *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise*, the quarterly is designed principally for the foreign literary journals, literary critics and publishers, lecturers and translators of Polish literature. Our purpose is to print objective material on works written largely by leading and popular modern writers of Poland and to devote some space to the most interesting first books by new authors. Wishing to give a comprehensive picture of the literary scene in Poland, we shall strive to cover a wide field of literary genres, including not only fiction, but also works of moment and of current interest, such as essays, non-fiction in related fields designed for the average reader. The reviews and articles will be contributed by Poland's most notable literary and theatre critics. The present issue is conceived as a kind of trial balloon to test the opinion of our [r]eaders. We should be immensely grateful for any remarks or suggestions which might prove useful in planning the subsequent issues of *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise*. (1968: 3)

Iowa so they could learn to love America. That was the key to raising money. If intellectuals from Seoul and Manila and Bangladesh could write and be read and live well-housed with full stomachs amid beautiful cornfields and unrivaled civil liberties, they would return home fighting for our side" (Bennett 2014). The same was true for writers from Poland. In a letter to Paul Engle, dated 27th June 1985, Kurt Vonnegut stated: "If I had never heard of your international workshop before I went to Poland and Czechoslovakia last spring, I would sure as hell been an enthusiast for it by the time I got home. Your alumni came out of the woodwork everywhere to say what a huge spiritual adventure Iowa City had been to them. So you needn't have told me in advance who to see. They all came to see me" (qtd in: Bennett 2015: 115). A completely different outlook on the IWP and the American way of life can be found in post-1989 recollections of new generations of Polish writers who took part in creative writing workshops at Iowa. A PhD dissertation devoted to this topic and entitled "Twórcze 'ja' wobec wielokulturowości: Autokreacje polskich stypendystów International Writing Program w Iowa City" is currently being written by Agnieszka Moroz at the University of Szczecin.

[121] Bearing in mind the existence of the monthly *Bulletin of New Books and Plays* (from August/September 1958), of which Rusinek became editor-in-chief in 1964, his call for "some form of regular bulletin" about Polish literature appears incomprehensible. It is more likely that the introduction of the quarterly in place of the already existent *Bulletin* was dictated by logistic and financial reasons, as well as that of prestige. *Polish Literature* was of better quality and must have been more costly than the monthly *Bulletin*, whose last issue appeared in December 1969.

The periodical continued to be published until 1974[122] and its editors kept their promise of introducing new interesting authors, alongside with presenting works by well-known literary names. Ernest Bryll, Bohdan Drozdowski, Janusz Głowacki, Stanisław Grochowiak, Andrzej Mularczyk, Wiesław Myśliwski, Tadeusz Nowak, Marek Nowakowski, Kazimierz Orłoś, Zyta Oryszyn, Edward Redliński, Edward Stachura, Andrzej Szypulski, Bogdan Wojdowski and Bohdan Zadura were among the young writers promoted in the quarterly. Disappointingly, works by most of these authors were to a great extent overlooked or ignored by English-language translators and publishers at that time.[123] Nevertheless, a lot of new Polish novels by already established authors, which were reviewed in *Polish Literature*, were translated into English, while works by novice writers often had the opportunity to appear in Anglophone anthologies.

The Polish-language booklet series entitled Sylwetki Współczesnych Pisarzy, published in the period 1965-1994, was yet another initiative of the Author's Agency and the outcome of the 1st International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature, whose aim was the promotion of Polish literature abroad. The French edition of the series, Les Écrivains Contemporains Polonais, came out between 1971 and 1988, while the English one, Profiles of Contemporary [Polish] Writers, appeared from 1972 to 1990.[124]

In October 1970, the 2nd International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature took place in Warsaw and Kraków. "At the Congress the translators were able to learn more about the fine achievements of recent Polish literature. Titles of new works and the names of young authors of whom they were not yet aware were brought to their attention. […] They were also able to make contact with the authors they had translated" (F. S. 1970: 31). An article, which appeared after the Congress in the quarterly *Polish Literature*, reported:

> Over one hundred guests from 22 countries of Europe, America and Asia attended the Congress. The remarkable and gifted translators, whom we call ambassadors of Polish literature in recognition of the great service rendered by them, represented 36 languages into which they translated Polish classics and modern works. […] Working sessions held in the first three days were

[122] The circumstances of the periodical's closure are described in Michał Rusinek's *Moja wieża Babel* (1982: 156-157).

[123] For example, books by Orłoś, Oryszyn or Redliński have still not been translated into English. Myśliwski's writings did not enter Anglophone literature until 1991 and his debut novel, *Nagi sad* (1967), continues to remain unknown to the English-language reader, although it was promoted in the second issue of *Polish Literature* by Henryk Bereza (Bereza 1968: 25-27). The fact that a review of Stachura's *Cała jaskrawość* by Rafał Marszałek appeared in the same issue of *Polish Literature* as the coverage of the 2nd International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature (Marszałek 1970: 17-19) did not help the young author in being noticed by English-language translation commissioners, either.

[124] See Appendix 3 (p. 301).

> introduced with lectures by leading critics, followed by discussions and remarks from the translators. Speaking of modern Polish literature, Włodzimierz Maciąg pointed to the main trends in Polish literary works noted over the last years. Michał Sprusiński concentrated on the latest production of young writers and poets. Roman Szydłowski sought to prove in his paper that Polish stage playwrighting is the most dynamic branch of Polish literature, while Włodzimierz Sokorski spoke of the dramatic explosion of radio and television talent. In the last session Wacław Sadkowski spoke of the Polish avant-garde of the years before and after the last war.[125] In the discussions, the translators brought up the subject of translation technique, of the difficulties of the translator's profession, of the reaction to Polish literature in their countries, of the assistance they receive from the Author's Agency which supplies them with dictionaries, literary periodicals and latest publications. A reading of translations of Polish poetry by translators was given in the final literary session.[126] (ibid.: 27- 29)

During the 1970 Congress, an English-language translator was awarded the ZAiKS Prize in Translation for the first time (*Materiały z II Międzynarodowego*… 1970: 26). The translator who received the award was David John Welsh.[127] Of British origin, at that time he taught at Ann Arbor University in Michigan.[128] Apart from the ZAiKS Prize laureate, also Henry Charles Stevens from Great Britain represented the English-language translators. Stevens, who had already been awarded for his achievements in translation by the Polish PEN Club in 1966, was also distinguished during the 2nd Congress with the Badge "For Service to Polish Culture," along with twenty-six other translators (F.S. 1970: 29).[129]

One of the recurrent requests addressed to the Congress organisers was for Polish and Russian editions of the English-French periodical *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise*, published by the Author's Agency.[130] Paradoxically, although almost all of the texts printed in

[125] All the papers can be found in *Materiały z II Międzynarodowego*… 1970: 28-46 (Włodzimierz Maciąg), 47-60 (Michał Sprusiński), 85-111 (Roman Szydłowski), 112-120 (Włodzimierz Sokorski) and 147-160 (Wacław Sadkowski).

[126] The publication of the Congress proceedings ends on October 6th, the last day of the literary sessions held in Warsaw, before the Congress moved to Kraków. The afternoon session was hosted by Julian Przyboś, who died on that very day after having praised the beautifully sounding fragment of a Japanese rendition of *Ferdynand Wspaniały* by Ludwik Jerzy Kern and asking the French translator to read out a translation of "Franz Kafka," a poem by Mieczysław Jastrun (*Materiały z II Międzynarodowego*… 1970: 193; Bukowska 1970: 15).

[127] See Appendix 1 (p. 295).

[128] In 1970, Welsh's most recent renditions included Leopold Buczkowski's *Czarny potok* (1954; *Black Torrent*, 1969), Stanisław Dygat's *Disneyland* (1965; *Cloak of Illusion*, 1969) and Tadeusz Konwicki's *Sennik współczesny* (1963; *A Dreambook for Our Time*, 1969).

[129] Stevens is known for his renditions of Stefan Żeromski's *Wierna rzeka* (1912; *The Faithful River*, 1943), Maria Kuncewiczowa's *Zmowa nieobecnych* (1946; *The Conspiracy of the Absent*, 1950), *Klucze* (1943; *The Keys*, 1945) and *Leśnik* (1952; *The Forester*, 1954), Arkady Fiedler's *Dywizjon 303* (1942; *Squadron 303*, 1942), Jan Dobraczyński's *Wyczerpać morze* (1961; *To Drain the Sea*, 1964), *Listy Nikodema* (1952; *The Letters of Nicodemus*, 1958) and *Święty miecz* (1949; *The Sacred Sword*, 1959), as well as Adolf Rudnicki's selected works, published as *Ascent to Heaven* (1951).

[130] The Slovak translator, Halina Ivaničkova, opted for a Polish version (*Materiały z II Międzynarodowego*… 1970: 169), while Jāzeps Osmanis from Latvia and Dimitr Ikonomov from Bulgaria asked for Russian editions,

the quarterly were originally written in Polish, its Polish version never appeared.[131] The fact that English and French were chosen as the only two languages for the promotion of Polish literature abroad might be explained by Poland's aspirations to be perceived as a Western rather than Eastern country and suggests the strategic importance of the Polish cultural propaganda directed to publishers in the West. Michał Rusinek, the Director of the Author's Agency, gave financial difficulties as the reason for the absence of other language versions (*Materiały z II Międzynarodowego*… 1970: 174-175). In the end, a monolingual Russian edition of the quarterly came out between 1972 and 1974.

The post-conference issue of *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise* brings a detailed insight into the Polish-English literary translation relations in the form of articles by Henry Charles Stevens and David John Welsh. Both papers are essential to the understanding of the dynamics on the Anglo-American book publishing market of the 1960s and '70s, especially in connection with Polish literature. According to Stevens:

> The big problem for all English publishers is the steadily rising cost of production, which results in a steadily rising book price to the reader. Today it is common for a work of fiction by an English author to cost 30/-[132] at the bookshop, while non-fictional categories can rise to five pounds or more, according to the nature of the book. And a publisher can no longer count on recuperating his production costs with a sale of 1,000 copies, as in the past. Translation fees have risen too: the English translators' organizations recommend or insist on a fee of £5.5.0 minimum per 1,000 words. If a 100,000 word novel has to be translated, over £500 is added to the production costs of a work which is of necessity a purely speculative venture on the publisher's part. *Because of this cost factor, English publishers tend to seek the cooperation of American publishers so as to spread the production costs*. If they cannot find an American publisher they are chary of accepting a book for translation and publication. In one case of which I have personal knowledge, the English publisher had two very favourable reports from his readers, but he failed to get an American publisher interested, and the proposal was dropped. (1970: 84; emphasis added)

A note by David John Welsh followed:

> As everyone knows, the publishing industry in the United States is chaotic, to say the least. The huge publishing houses of New York can dictate their own

supporting their request with the fact that most publishing houses in Soviet-bloc countries had Russian-speaking editors (*Materiały z II Międzynarodowego*… 1970: 164-165 and 173).

[131] Even more importantly, contrary to the professed championship of the translator's rights, names of the translators working into English and French were omitted in the first four issues of *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise*.

[132] 30 shillings.

> terms to struggling authors – and translators. If a publisher offers a translator the job of translating a book, he will offer a lump sum and say "Take it or leave it." Needless to say, a translator dare not refuse a commission, for fear of not getting any more. […] As regards the fees paid translators in the United States, the best is about $4 a page. However, during the year of discussions with the MIT Press for the three Polish novels [Konwicki's *Sennik współczesny*, Dygat's *Disneyland* and Buczkowski's *Czarny potok*], I was able to persuade them to pay me $5 a page. Of course these fees are heavily taxed above my ordinary salary as university professor. […] To be sure, if a translation of mine were to be a best-seller, I would be the loser. But one must take the risk. *In any case, it is impossible to earn a living by translating, even from the French, not to mention Polish*. (1970b: 86-87; emphasis added)

These first-hand descriptions of the functioning of Polish literature on the Anglophone literary market in the 1970s constitute an invaluable document of the publishing realities and are a splendid illustration of the systemic relations between various factors, where no change in the system goes without influence on the remaining elements. Raising the translator's fee, mentioned by Stevens, which was one of the most important aims of the Polish PEN Club, actually affected the chances of rendering Polish literature in the UK in an adversary way.[133] Stevens's account also shows the powerful influence which American publishers exerted on the British market. In turn, Welsh's experiences demonstrate, among others, how low the position of the translator was, and often still is, when faced with the publishing industry.

In September 1969, more than ten years after the 1st International Conference of Translators of Literary Works in Warsaw, which gave rise to the PEN Translation Committee in New York (Chute 1971: 65), the members of the American Committee worded their "Manifesto on Translation," in which they called for action in the following way:

> The time has come for translators to come out into the open and to agree on a common course of action. For too long they have been the lost children in the enchanted forest of literature. Their names are usually forgotten, they are grotesquely underpaid, and their services, however skilfully rendered, are regarded with a slightly patronizing and pitying respect formerly reserved for junior housemaids. (PEN Translation Committee 1969: 377).

Additionally, the Manifesto drafted the most important subjects to be discussed at the oncoming Conference on Literary Translation, to be held in May 1970 in New York under the auspices of the PEN American Center. These topics were: the translator's rights,

[133] The problem was finally solved in 1998, when Polski Fundusz Literatury ©POLAND was established (the Polish Literary Fund ©POLAND, since 2002 known as the ©POLAND Translation Program), eliminating the additional translation and book rights acquisition costs for the publisher.

professorships in translation, exchange fellowships for translators, translation prizes, the publisher's and the editor's role in bringing out translated works, the creation of an index of translations and a journal for translators (ibid.: 377-384). Because of their political dimension, translations from Russian were to be given particular heed, since:

> translators who receive their [Russian writers'] [uncensored] manuscripts then find themselves attempting to resolve intensely difficult moral problems, for they know that the publication of their translations will inevitably place the author in jeopardy and they will bear a moral responsibility for his fate. (ibid.: 381).

In his introduction to the proceedings from the Conference, Lewis Galantière wrote:

> Conference papers rarely make good reading. […] This collection of papers on translation has some chance of meeting a better fate. One difference between it and other books on the subject known to me is the emotion stirred in the reader by so many of its contributors. […] The variety of literatures dealt with is another of the merits of this volume. There is nothing here on Greek or Latin, but besides the European staples – French, German, Italian, Spanish – we learn in varying measure something of the essence of the neglected literatures: Bengali, Chinese, Danish, Irish (Gaelic), Japanese, Korean, Polish, Sanskrit and Swedish […]. (1971: ix-x)

Unfortunately, even such awareness-raising events as the New York Conference did not win instantaneous support for the admission of the neglected Polish literature onto the Anglophone literary market. 1970 was also the year when Jan Librach, the Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America (PIASA), applied to the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation for $6,000 necessary for a publishing project concerning the English translation of Polish literature. In a letter to Alexis C. Coudert, PIASA's Vice-President and Secretary, Librach recommended a list of books to be translated by Barbara Krzywicka-Herburt:[134] a selection from Andrzej Bobkowski's diaries, *Szkice piórkiem* (1957), a science-fiction novel by Jerzy Żuławski, *Na srebrnym globie* (1903), *Urząd* (1963), a novel by Tadeusz Breza about the power of bureaucratic machinery, and *Faraon*, a novel of ancient Egypt by Bolesław Prus (Karkowski 2013: 131-132). Librach was forced to ask the Jurzykowski Foundation for financial support because PIASA was "faced with the loss of grants from the Free Europe Committee by 1970" (Gromada 2005). No written answer was preserved in PIASA's archives and the project never materialised.

[134] Known also as Barbara Vedder.

Between 1970 and 1975, the Polish PEN Club awarded two prizes for Polish-English literary translation.[135] In 1972 it recognised the lifelong engagement of Arthur Prudden Coleman and Marion Moore Coleman in promoting Polish literature and culture in the United States, while in 1974 the PEN Club Translation Award was given to Czesław Miłosz for his achievements in translating and promoting Polish literature in English. Together with Peter Dale Scott, Miłosz translated Polish poems for the anthology of *Postwar Polish Poetry* (1965), as well as Zbigniew Herbert's *Selected Poems* (1968).[136] This is how the laureate commented on this distinction:

> I received a telegram from Warsaw saying: "The Management Board of the Polish PEN Club is pleased to inform you that on the 23rd January [1974] the jury decided to distinguish you with the PEN Club Translation Award for outstanding achievements in translating Polish literature into English. Secretary General Władysław Bartoszewski. President Jan Parandowski." What the hell? Aren't I a devil any more? But I understand this as an immense effort on the part of the Polish PEN, i.e. Słonimski, Żuławski, Hertz, and their move really deserves great respect, notwithstanding the rather amusing character of the award, namely for translations *into English*. But they have only translation awards, so there's nothing to sneer at. In fact, their endeavours are moving and should be perceived as an act of independence of the Polish PEN. (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2012: 62; trans. mine; original emphasis)

Indeed, awarding Miłosz was clearly a political act of support, as at that time the poet was declared *persona non grata* in Poland. Translations, this time from English into Polish, were the only works which Miłosz could officially publish in his home country between 1951 (the year of his defection to the West) and 1980, when he received the Nobel Prize. Moreover, until 1990 only his pre-war volumes of poetry were reprinted. After 1967, Miłosz's situation as an émigré writer was also unequivocal, as the difficulties with publishing his *Historia literatury polskiej* in West Germany show.[137] In a letter to Jerzy Giedroyc from 10th March 1974, Miłosz wrote:

> You asked me about my books which I could suggest to the Germans. But I don't know which publishers you have in mind. After Witsch's death [in 1967], I lost contact with the Kiepenheuer & Witsch company, the publisher of *Zniewolony umysł*, *Dolina Issy* and *Rodzinna Europa*. The Cologne company,

[135] See Appendix 1 (p. 295).
[136] While working on his own *Selected Poems* (1973), Miłosz also collaborated with Peter Dale Scott, as well as with Lawrence Davies, Richard Lourie, Jan Darowski and John Carpenter.
[137] Miłosz's *The History of Polish Literature* (1969), edited linguistically and stylistically by Catherine S. Leach, did not appear in Poland in its entirety until 2010, translated from the English by Maria Tarnowska and brought out by Znak.

> Wissenschaft und Politik, have still not published my *Historia literatury polskiej*, although it's already translated into German, as they cannot receive the federal subsidy which they would have got if I weren't an émigré. I have to write to them now, maybe the PEN Club award will help here. Besides, many years ago Dedecius published (in Kiepenheuer & Witsch) a volume of my poems in his rendition,[138] afterwards avoiding me like the plague and seeking Warsaw's favours. Therefore, today I'm not very keen on collaboration with this smart guy. (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2012: 72-73; trans. mine)

The German version of Miłosz's work eventually appeared in 1981 as *Geschichte der polnischen Literatur*, translated from the English and Polish by Arthur Mandel and published by Wissenschaft und Politik, Kiepenheuer & Witsch's successor in the publishing programme of politically important books and authors.[139]

The 3rd International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature, which took place between 25th September and 4th October 1975 in Warsaw and Kraków, provided another opportunity for awarding outstanding translators of Polish literature into foreign languages. Harold Bernard Segel, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Columbia University, was one of the laureates of the ZAiKS Prize in Translation presented that year (*Materiały / III Międzynarodowy…*, 1976: 24).[140] The Congress was attended by over 130 translators, as well as literary agents and publishers from abroad. However, among the publishers there were no representatives from the Anglophone world (ibid.: 184). Apart from Harold Bernard Segel, translators from English-speaking countries included Vera von Wiren-Garczyński, Magnus Jan Kryński,[141] Anna Furdyna and Jean Karsavina from the United States, as well as Adam Czerniawski, Bolesław Taborski and Marc Euclid Heine from the United Kingdom.

During plenary discussions the situation of translators and the nature of publishing markets in different countries were brought to the fore. Magnus Jan Kryński talked about the

[138] Czesław Miłosz, *Lied vom Weltende: Gedichte*, trans. by Karl Dedecius, Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1966.
[139] A mysterious delay concerning Miłosz's literary compendium also affected its American re-edition. Shortly before being announced the laureate of the Nobel Prize in Literature, which took place on 9th October 1980, Miłosz wrote: "The situation of my book in America is a complete mess, as Macmillan doesn't want to sell the book, i.e. they keep up appearances that it's available; however, the answer to all orders is 'out of stock,' which means that they are sold out of the print run. It's impossible to comprehend what's going on here. Ewa Czarnecka [Renata Gorczyńska] from *Nowy Dziennik* in New York conducted the whole investigation and can't understand what it's all about either – see her article in *Tydzień Polski* (the supplement to *Nowy Dziennik*), which she edits" (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2012: 283; trans. mine). The article entitled "Nie ma i nie będzie" appeared in *Tydzień Polski*, 2nd-3rd August 1980, 3A and 10A. After Miłosz received the Nobel Prize, his *Historia literatury polskiej* was published in Germany (1981), the USA (1983), France (1983) and Italy (1983).
[140] Segel specialised in nineteenth-century Polish drama. When he was awarded, it was mainly Aleksander Fredro's comedies that he had translated into English.
[141] The proceedings from the 3rd Congress give a wrong version of the translator's name: Jan Magnus Kryński (ibid.: 147, 187).

American market and publishing opportunities for Polish literature (ibid.: 147-153). Although he was unjust in suggesting that in the second half of the 1950s and in the following decade the field of Polish-English literary translation belonged mainly to professional journalists, such as Norbert Guterman[142] and Konrad Syrop,[143] instead of professional translators, he was right in diagnosing the political roots of the interest in Polish literature after October 1956, especially in Marek Hłasko's writings (ibid.: 148). While indeed Guterman and Syrop were connected with the American and British media respectively, only the latter had relatively little experience in translation. Moreover, the notion of "a professional translator" as employed by Kryński could not be applied even to David John Welsh, the translator of Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Popiół i diament*, since Welsh earned his living chiefly as a Professor of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.[144] There is no doubt, however, that in the case of Polish literature Guterman and Syrop were commissioned translations of narratives which had a strategic meaning in discrediting communism.[145]

The positive outcome of the whole situation, acknowledged by Kryński, was that however politicised the promotion of literature from Poland was, in some American circles it evolved into a genuine interest in Polish writing (ibid.). According to the translator, the most significant names in Polish prose that gained popularity among American readers between 1956 and 1975 included Jerzy Andrzejewski, Tadeusz Borowski, Kazimierz Brandys, Stanisław Dygat, Witold Gombrowicz, Marek Hłasko, Tadeusz Konwicki, Sławomir Mrożek, Włodzimierz Odojewski, Jan Parandowski, Bruno Schulz and Julian Stryjkowski. He also mentioned Stanisław Lem as a writer of steadily rising popularity (ibid.). Kryński ventured a positive diagnosis of the future state of Polish-English literary translation. He stressed the

[142] Norbert Guterman (1900-1984) was a writer, translator and journalist. Born in Warsaw, he studied philosophy in Warsaw and Paris and was part of the Paris-based group "Philosophies" with Pierre Morhange and Henri Lefebvre. In 1932 Guterman moved to New York, where he became best known as a translator of philosophical and literary works. He translated from French, German, Latin, Polish and Yiddish into English and French. As a journalist, Guterman contributed to the American left-wing magazines *Partisan Review* and *Monthly Review* ("Norbert Guterman Bibliographical Note"; "Norbert Guterman, 84…" 1984; Shields 1999: 21). Among others, he rendered, in collaboration with Sylvia Glass, Mary Berg's *Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary* (1945), Kazimierz Wierzyński's *The Life and Death of Chopin* (1949), Stefan Korboński's *Warsaw in Chains* (1959), Kazimierz Brandys's "The Defense of Granada," from Paweł Mayewski's collection *The Broken Mirror* (1958), Marek Hłasko's *The Eighth Day of the Week* (1958), *The Graveyard* (1959) and *Next Stop – Paradise* (1960), Tadeusz Nowakowski's *Camp of All Saints* (1962) and Leszek Kołakowski's *The Alienation of Reason: A History of Positivist Thought* (1968) and *Positivist Philosophy: From Hume to the Vienna Circle* (1972).

[143] Konrad Syrop (1914-1998) was a broadcaster, writer and translator born in Vienna. He worked for the BBC Polish Service 1939-45 and BBC European Productions 1945-69, to become Programme Editor of BBC General Talks and Features 1969-71, Head of Central European Service 1971-73 and Chairman of the Bush House Working Party 1973-74 (Miall 1998). Among others, Syrop translated Jerzy Andrzejewski's *The Inquisitors* (1960), as well as Sławomir Mrożek's *The Elephant* (1962) and *The Ugupu Bird* (1968).

[144] Even nowadays, very few translators can afford to live solely from translating literary texts.

[145] Additionally, Syrop authored three political books about Poland: *Spring in October: the Story of the Polish Revolution of 1956* (1957), *Poland Between the Hammer and the Anvil* (1968) and *Poland in Perspective* (1982).

phenomenon of moving away from the usual pattern adopted in the first postwar decades, when translations of Polish literature were conducted in England, only to be reprinted in the United States. Instead, he was witnessing the rise of a new generation of professional translators, students of Czesław Miłosz (Louis Iribarne, Catherine S. Leach, Richard Lourie)[146] or Wiktor Weintraub (Madeline G. Levine and Joachim Baer) (ibid.: 150).

Cutting off subventions for American university presses, in which translations of Polish literature used to appear, also resurfaced in Kryński's presentation. He proposed printing translated books in Poland in order to diminish publishing costs (ibid.: 151). He pointed towards the lack of new anthologies with Polish short stories and drew attention to the conspicuous absence of this genre, especially of stories by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Jerzy Andrzejewski, Tadeusz Różewicz, Sławomir Mrożek[147] and Kazimierz Brandys, whose *Sons and Comrades* he believed to be a bad choice for translation: outdated and too local.[148] From among longer prose pieces, he recommended novels by Andrzej Kuśniewicz and the *Diary* by Witold Gombrowicz (ibid.: 152). Kryński advocated translating books shortly after they proved to be successful on home ground, as well as synchronising book publishing with the interest in particular topics abroad (ibid.).

In turn, Bolesław Taborski outlined the situation on the publishing market in Great Britain, pointing to the fact that the Anglophone literary market was almost self-sufficient because of the sheer range of the language, which covered so many regions and cultures that it almost satisfied the needs of British readers (ibid.: 159). Polish literature, he said, could not compete with literatures written in French, German, Spanish or Russian because, unlike those languages, Polish had no representatives in publishing houses: no readers were employed there in order to look for novelties on the Polish market who could assess the quality of the newly-published Polish books (ibid.: 160). Interestingly, Taborski saw an opportunity for a positive change of affairs in the new generation of translators, born from Polish parents in the United Kingdom, for whom English often became their first language and who understood Polish perfectly at the same time (ibid.). He also suggested introducing the commissioning of translations by Polish institutes interested in promoting well-selected works of Polish literature abroad, so as to transfer the risk from the translator onto the Polish cultural

[146] In a letter from 12th March 1968, Miłosz recommends his students as translators to Jerzy Giedroyc (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2011: 164-165).
[147] In fact, two short-story collections by Sławomir Mrożek were available at that time in Konrad Syrop's translation: *The Elephant* (1962) and *The Ugupu Bird* (1968).
[148] Again, the choice of Brandys's novel, translated by David John Welsh and published in 1961 by Grove Press in New York and by Allen and Unwin in London, must have been dictated by political criteria.

budget[149] (ibid.: 161). Finally, Taborski provided a practical solution against the frequent waste of the translator's time and effort caused by the lack of centralised information on who was working on what at a given moment. According to him, the Author's Agency should have started a card index listing all English-language translators of Polish literature, together with the information about which genres they specialised in and which literary work they were currently rendering from or into Polish[150] (ibid.: 162-163).

In 1972, three years before the 3rd Congress of Translators of Polish Literature, an index of a different kind was established in the United Kingdom. This was *Index on Censorship*, a magazine supporting free expression, created in London by Michael Scammell and Stephen Spender with a substantial grant from the Ford Foundation.[151] Spender's *Index on Censorship* often gave its pages to Polish dissident writers and was the publisher of London editions of Tadeusz Konwicki's *Kompleks polski*, *Mała apokalipsa* and *Wschody i zachody księżyca*.[152] But this did not come until 1976, after underground publishing had already started in Poland.

1.6. 1976–1989

In the period of 1976–1989, *samizdat* became an alternative to official, censored literature.[153] Stanisław Barańczak thus characterised this groundbreaking crack in the system of control

[149] Taborski added at this point that, to his knowledge, a move in this direction had already been made by the Author's Agency (ibid.: 161).

[150] In a letter to Jerzy Giedroyc, dated 22nd January 1977, Miłosz complained: "I will send you by airmail Pasek's *Memoirs* in my student's translation. Unfortunately, the Polish matters are rife with the absurd. Another rendition, worse, was done almost simultaneously and is to be published by the Kościuszko Foundation together with PIW. To add piquancy to it, the Jurzykowski Foundation participated in financing my student's book, as well as, *via* the Kościuszko Foundation, the other Pasek. What for?" (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2012: 195; trans. mine). The two translations were: Jan Chryzostom Pasek, *Memoirs of the Polish Baroque: The Writings of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, a Squire of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania*, edited, translated with an introduction and notes by Catherine S. Leach, foreword by Wiktor Weintraub, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976 and Jan Chryzostom Pasek, *The Memoirs of Jan Chryzostom z Gosławic Pasek*, translated with an introduction and commentaries by Maria A. J. Święcicka, New York, NY: The Kościuszko Foundation; Warsaw: Polish State Publishers [PIW], 1978.

[151] In the years 1953-1966, Spender was the editor of the *Encounter* magazine, from which he resigned after it emerged that *Encounter* was financed by the CIA. *Index on Censorship* was modelled on Murray Mindlin's *Censorship: A Quarterly Report on Censorship of Ideas and the Arts*, also based in London. Mindlin's magazine was launched in 1964 and folded in the winter of 1967 (Stonor Sauners 2013: 281).

[152] See Appendix 4 (p. 305).

[153] For years *samizdat*, which derives from the Russian word for "self-publishing," was accompanied in Poland and preceded by *tamizdat*, a coinage of the Polish *tam* (there) and Russian *-izdat*, denoting publications in the Polish language printed abroad and smuggled back to Poland. For a discussion of both terms in the context of Polish underground publishing see Paweł Sowiński, *Zakazana książka: uczestnicy drugiego obiegu 1977-1989*, Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2011.

over access to unrestricted information and the right to free expression in the Polish People's Republic:

> In the fall of 1976, exactly twenty years after the 1956 "thaw," came an unprecedented series of events that gave the notion of cultural independence a whole new meaning. Prior to 1976, freedom of expression could only be *given*; now for the first time people simply *took* it, without waiting for it to be given. […] The revolutionary change in this state of affairs which occurred in the fall of 1976 consisted of the equally simple act of drawing practical conclusions from thirty years of experience. Since the source of the regime's success in subjugating culture had been its monopoly on publication and circulation, it was necessary to break this monopoly. […] The creation of independent publishing would not have taken place had it not been for the increased *need* for such an undertaking, a need that in the mid-1970s was felt by both authors and readers. The abuses of censorship had become so blatant by then that the public – and not only the censored authors – became aware of the dangers inherent in the regime's uncontrolled rule over culture. Moreover, by 1976 the gradual changes in the political mentality of the younger generation had already produced a sufficient number of people who were willing to take the risk of serving as underground printers, editors, distributors, and so on. For the first time in postwar history, all the links of the chain of communication fell into place: there was someone to write for the independent circuit, someone to manage the process of independent publishing, and someone to read independent publications (and thus to form an independent market for them). (1990: 72-73)

Forbidden literature had been circulating in Poland long before 1976, first thanks to the CIA's balloon operations, in which leaflets, posters and books were shipped to the East (Cummings 2001: 187), then due to the book mailing programme (Rudzki 2000, Matthews 2003, Reisch 2008 and 2013). In the latter operation, books were either distributed by post or personally through trusted travellers to and from Poland. In this way the link between literary life in Poland and abroad was ensured, often with the help of Polish émigré centres, frequently sponsored by the Americans.[154]

Books which had no chance of officially appearing in Poland were first smuggled out in manuscript form, published abroad and then reproduced in Polish *samizdat* houses. Such was the origin of *Czarna księga cenzury PRL*, when materials documenting classified rules and regulations of the Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances were smuggled to Sweden by Tomasz Strzyżewski, then published in Polish by

[154] In January 1969, a group of young Polish oppositionists began smuggling books published by the Literary Institute in Paris to Poland through the Tatra Mountains. However, in May of the same year "they were arrested at the Polish-Czech borded and a number of them were sentenced in an unprecedented trial" (Neubauer and Török 2009: 162).

Aneks in London (volume 1 in 1977, volume 2 in 1978), to be later reprinted in Poland in 1981 by NOWa and the Independent Students' Association of the University of Wrocław. The book was translated into English and published in three different American editions.[155]

The rise of state-independent publications after 1976 provided the much coveted counterbalance to the reporting of the official media. In a note under the telling title "Zjazd tłumaczy – bez spotkań z autorami" (Translators' Congress without the writers) the underground periodical *Zapis* announced that translators who gathered between 2nd and 10th October 1979 in Warsaw and Kraków on the occasion of the 4th International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature were unable to meet Polish poets who had arrived in Warsaw to take part in a poetry contest, since on the day it was to take place (7th October), the translators were driven off to Kraków. Moreover, before coming to Poland, the Russian delegates were instructed not to meet any of the "enemy-writers," the list of whom had been announced to them in Moscow (Kandziora *et al.* 1999: 69; "Kronika" 1980b: 128). Another unofficial periodical, *Puls*, provided the following summary of the topics discussed during the Congress: "While censored literature was discussed in the conference hall, it was the independent literary initiatives, publications by NOWa, as well as *Zapis* and *Puls* which were talked about behind the scenes" ("Kronika" 1980a: 105). Even the session held during the Warsaw part of the Congress (2nd-6th October) devoted to unprofessional, though official, poetry publishing initiatives did not mislead the guest translators into believing that the state did not hold a monopoly on publishing.

The materials published after the fourth, and last, International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature for the first time bore the stamp "Do użytku służbowego" (for internal use only). Also, for the first time newspeak was present in the official opening of the Congress, as seen from its proceedings (*IV Międzynarodowy Zjazd*…, 1980). The decease of Jan Parandowski (1895-1978), a life-long champion of translation and translators' rights, as

[155] In 1982 selected fragments were published by And Books in Aleksander Niczow's rendition as *Black Book of Polish Censorship* and in 1984 a different selection appeared as *The Black Book of Polish Censorship* translated by Jane Leftwich Curry with Klara Główczewska's help. The latter version had two editions: one published by Random House, the other by Vintage Books. After the scope of state control over the media was revealed, it was followed by calls to reform the Censorship Office, voiced by the literary milieu, as well as by workers of the Gdańsk Shipyard in August 1980. As a result, over 70% of the regulations contained in the book were repealed and the Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances was restructured and renamed the Main Office for the Control of Publications and Public Performances in July 1981. However, these cosmetic changes could not answer the need for freedom without state intervention and the censor's interference, so they did not terminate the *samizdat* activities. Underground publishing in Poland continued even during martial law, which lasted from 13th December 1981 to 22nd July 1983.

well as Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's absence due to health problems, irreversibly changed the nature of this event.[156]

American translators were represented at the 4th Congress by Harold Bernard Segel and Vera von Wiren-Garczyński. Daniel Gerould, who was then awarded the ZAiKS Prize in Translation for his promotion of Polish avant-garde drama in the English-speaking world, did not attend the event (ibid.: 13-15).[157] Additionally, two Polish translators working into the English language, Adam Czerniawski and Mariusz Tchorek, came from the UK.

When asked what kind of contemporary Polish literature could be of interest to foreign readers, Harold Bernard Segel put forward a hypothesis that a literary work which pertains to basic questions about human existence is destined to be a success irrespectively of the country or culture of its origin. He gave examples of such renditions, published by Penguin Books in the Writers from the Other Europe series, as *Ashes and Diamonds* by Jerzy Andrzejewski, *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen* by Tadeusz Borowski, *A Dreambook for Our Time* by Tadeusz Konwicki and *Sanatorium under the Sign of the Hourglass* by Bruno Schulz (ibid.: 118-119).[158] The American translator recommended Ryszard Kapuściński's *Cesarz* (1978) for translation, as a book worthy of attention abroad. In order to promote Polish literature in the United States in a more effective way, Segel suggested initiating long-term cooperation between American and Polish publishers who would share the risk of and, ideally, profits from publishing a book together. As an instance of such an arrangement he gave the English-language anthology of Hungarian poetry brought out by Columbia University Press and a publisher from Budapest. As an alternative solution Segel mentioned the establishing of a fund for the promotion of Polish literature abroad financed from the pay and royalties for the authors of translated works, optionally subsidised from the Polish state budget. In his opinion, the advertising campaign for the books could be sponsored by Polish businessmen in the USA and could take the shape of press conferences, receptions, and visits of Polish writers in America (ibid.: 120-121). Another American translator, Vera von Wiren-

[156] Iwaszkiewicz died at the beginning of March 1980, his departure further diminishing the generation which constituted a link between the pre-war times and which represented the idealistic elite of the socialist utopia.

[157] In his *curriculum vitae*, Gerould lists this prize as "Polish Authors Agency Award" in the entry for 1981 (Gerould ca 2000). Until 1979, he had translated and edited four collections of plays by Witkacy: *The Madman and The Nun and Other Plays* (1968) with C. S. Durer, *Avant Garde Drama*: *A Casebook* (1976) with Bernard Dukore, *Tropical Madness*: *Four Plays* (1972) with Eleanor Gerould, and *Twentieth-Century Polish Avant Garde Drama*: *Plays, Scenarios, Critical Documents*, containing plays by Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, Andrzej Trzebiński, Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński, Jerzy Afanasjew, Sławomir Mrożek, Tadeusz Różewicz (1977), also in collaboration with Eleanor Gerould. Later, Daniel Gerould presented the Anglophone reader with translations of plays by such Polish dramatists as Bruno Jasieński (*The Mannequins' Ball*: *a Play in Three Acts*, 2000) and Sławomir Mrożek (*The Mrożek Reader*, 2004).

[158] Segel mistakenly counts Zbigniew Herbert and Tadeusz Różewicz among the writers whose works were published in the series.

Garczyński, pointed out that quite often there were potential readers interested in literature of other countries, whose needs were left unanswered by publishers unwilling to take the risk of bringing out foreign works on their own. As a representative of the Belgian organisation AIMAV[159] for the United States, she wanted to start the co-publishing of translated literature with the Polish Interpress Agency (ibid.: 124-126).

Mariusz Tchorek advanced another practical idea for enabling publication and facilitating the circulation of translated Polish literature, already mentioned on the occasion of the 3rd Congress by Magnus Jan Kryński (*Materiały / III Międzynarodowy*…, 1976: 151). He suggested printing English-language renditions of Polish literature in Poland, which would be considerably cheaper than in England (*IV Międzynarodowy Zjazd*…, 1980: 133). Tchorek referred to his correspondence with two American writers, who recommended a practical way of promoting Polish literature in the United States or Great Britain: in order to minimise the risk of time investment, if rejected by the publisher, the translator should limit themself to rendering only about 20% of the book they wanted to bring out (ibid.: 134). This, or rather a similar solution, had to wait for almost thirty years until officially introduced by the Book Institute in 2007 as the Sample Translations ©POLAND grant.[160] Adam Czerniawski, the 1976 ZAiKS Prize in Translation laureate for English renditions of Polish poetry, indicated that the choice of Mickiewicz or Słowacki's poetry was not the best strategy for initiating the young English-language reader to Polish literature and that the poets of the Romantic period should be introduced only after readers had become acquainted with more contemporary Polish writing of a more universal value, such as poems by Różewicz or Herbert (ibid.: 122).

The implementation of martial law in December 1981 spelt the actual end of the big-scale literary translation patronage by the Author's Agency, which had to temporarily suspend its operations and never regained its previous status even after it was reactivated. There was no continuation to the International Congresses of Translators of Polish Literature initiated in 1965. Although the efforts to promote Polish writing abroad never ceased, translators of Polish literature had to wait for the next opportunity to meet collectively until 2005, when the

[159] Association Internationale pour la Recherche et la Diffusion des Méthodes Audio-Visuelle et Structuro-Globales.

[160] The Book Institute states: "The aim of the program Sample Translations ©POLAND, addressed to translators of Polish literature, is to promote Polish literature abroad through encouraging translators to present Polish books to foreign publishers. […] Financing is given for 20 pages of a translation (1,800 characters per page)." However, one of the rules of applying for the grant is the following: "The translator must have published a minimum of three translations in book form prior to having made an application," which, unfortunately, does not make the task of finding a publisher to a debut translator any easier. See http://www.bookinstitute.pl/sample-translations,dotacje,375,sample- translations%C2%A9poland.html

Book Institute organised the 1st World Congress of Translators of Polish Literature in Kraków.[161]

Martial law in Poland must have also been the reason why a congress devoted to the "[t]ranslation and distribution of translations of books written in less disseminated languages," planned by AIMAV to be held in May or June 1982 in Warsaw and Kraków (Grève 1984: 160) was called off, since no account of such a meeting actually taking place exists.[162] Certainly, "the Polish imposition of martial law in December 1981, and the subsequent crackdown on the labor movement Solidarity" prompted the CIA to flood Poland with "prohibited literature" (Prados 2006: 504-505) more decisively than before:

> The initiatives amounted to classic CIA political action. Langley's[163] expenditures went for funding Solidarity, publishing texts, and printing presses and paper smuggled to assorted dissident groups, plus instructions and training where necessary. (ibid.: 505)

In general, cultural life in Poland, literary included, was seriously hampered in the period concerned. As the lead to the article entitled "The Cultural War in Poland," written by a freelance journalist specialising in Polish affairs and using the pen name Andrew Short, stated: "Journalists, publishers, film-makers, musicians, actors, artists have had to choose whether to protest or cooperate" (1982: 8). Opposition writers were frequently placed in internment camps, where irregular member meetings of the Polish PEN Club took place. Although officially martial law was lifted on 22nd July 1983,[164] the communist authorities wanted to crash unyielding cultural organisations. As a result a mandatory dissolution of the Polish PEN Club was ruled.[165] The Polish Writers' Union underwent even more dramatic changes. At the beginning of 1983, the Union was abolished as their members did not want to

[161] See Appendix 2 (p. 299).
[162] Fluctuations in what was allowed or forbidden in the Polish People's Republic from one year to another, even before martial law was implemented, seem paradoxical at times. When in 1980 two translators from the United States, Magnus Jan Kryński and Robert Maguire, were awarded the ZAiKS Prize in Translation for their English renditions of three major collections of Polish poetry (by Tadeusz Różewicz, Wisława Szymborska and Anna Świrszczyńska), the fact could not be made public. It was not revealed until 1982, already during martial law, when the ZAiKS Prizes were handed to the 1981 recipients (Szczypiorski 1982: 15).
[163] Metonymy for the CIA, derived from the agency's headquarters in Langley, Virginia.
[164] The date which marked the end of martial law was chosen deliberately by the Polish government's propagandists, as it corresponded with the annual celebrations of the anniversary of the Polish Committee for the National Liberation Manifesto, proclaimed in Lublin in 1944.
[165] No PEN Club Awards for Translation were given between 1982 and 1988. The break was almost as long as the pause caused by the war (1940-1947) and that of the stalinist era (1950-1956), when no foreign translators were honoured, although prizes for renditions from foreign literatures into Polish continued to be awarded.

recognise the appointed state administrators.[166] At the end of that year, an organisation of the same name came into being, this time fully supervised by the government. Also the reactivated Author's Agency did not fulfil its statutory functions any more. The fact that in 1983 its original founders were either dead or retired resulted in the Agency's actual collapse. Instead, a Commission for the Promotion of Polish Literature Abroad was created in 1986 within the new, state-controlled Polish Writers' Union (Staniów 2006b: 59). The political changes which soon took place in Poland, as well as the bad reputation of the post-1983 Polish Writers' Union may have been the reason why the Commission did not manage to put its ambitious plans, brought foreward by its chairman, Mikołaj Melanowicz, into practice (in: Kowalska 1987: 13).[167] Fortunately, the second half of the 1980s saw a slow but steady revival of other literary patronage institutions: the Polish PEN Club resumed its activities in 1988 and the yet unofficial, state-independent Polish Writers' Association, consisting to a large extent of the members of the original Polish Writers' Union, emerged at the beginning of 1989.[168]

In 1987, György Gömöri became the first translator of Polish literature into English to receive the ZAiKS Prize since the end of martial law.[169] Gömöri is known for rendering into English poems by Czesław Miłosz, Zbigniew Herbert, Artur Międzyrzecki, Adam Zagajewski and Wiktor Woroszylski, as well as for translating works of Polish literature into Hungarian. Two years later, in 1989, Stanisław Barańczak was awarded the ZAiKS Prize. With the help of Clare Cavanagh, whose role as his co-translator the laureate strongly emphasised in the letter he sent to ZAiKS, Barańczak rendered into English a selection of poems by Ryszard Krynicki, Wisława Szymborska, Miron Białoszewski, Wiktor Woroszylski, Julia Hartwig and Artur Międzyrzecki. In turn, Kenneth Mackenzie was one of the two translators who received the PEN Club Awards in 1989. Mackenzie's most important translations include Słowacki's *W Szwajcarii* (1839; *In Switzerland*, 1953) and Adam Mickiewicz's epic poem *Pan Tadeusz czyli Ostatni zajazd na Litwie* (1834; *Pan Tadeusz or The Last Foray in Lithuania*, 1986), the first English-language verse translation of this work.

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[166] On 27th October 1983, *The New York Review of Books* published "An Appeal for Solidarity with Polish Writers," signed by Janusz Anderman, Stanisław Barańczak, Władysław Bartoszewski, Ewa Bieńkowska, Jacek Bierezin, Kazimierz Brandys, Janusz Głowacki, Wojciech Karpiński, Leszek Kołakowski, Jan Kott, Anka Kowalska, Irena Krzywicka, Maria Kurecka, Irena Lewandowska, Czesław Miłosz, Sławomir Mrożek, Zdzisław Najder, Maryna Ochab, Włodzimierz Odojewski, Krzysztof Pomian, Jerzy Pomianowski, Leszek Szaruga, Jacek Trznadel, Witold Wirpsza, Jacek Woźniakowski and Adam Zagajewski.
See http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1983/10/27/an-appeal-for-solidarity-with-polish-writers/

[167] In an interview with Halina Kowalska, Melanowicz seems not to have been familiar with the Author's Agency's past achievements (in: Kowalska 1987: 13).

[168] Both organizations exist today.

[169] See Appendix 1 (p. 295).

Although the period between 1976 and 1989 offered to Polish writers an alternative to official, censored publishing, thanks to the *samizdat* circulation, paradoxically, Ryszard Kapuściński's *Szachinszach* (1982; *Shah of Shahs*, 1985)[170] fell prey to "selective editing" in "the land of the free," to use Francis Scott Key's words from the US national anthem. Translated by William R. Brand and Katarzyna Mroczkowska-Brand, *Shah of Shahs* lacks about 15 pages which contained references to the CIA's involvement in the 1953 overthrow of the democratically elected Iran's Prime Minister, Mohammad Mosaddegh (Domosławski 2013: 285-287). Even though Artur Domosławski, reporter and Kapuściński's biographer, speculates that the Polish writer censored his own book for the American market (ibid.: 386-387), Kapuściński himself claimed that he did it on the request of the American publisher, as indeed he wanted the book to appear in English translation (ibid.: 286).

Martin Pollack, a well-known translator of Ryszard Kapuściński's works into German, recalls that in spring 1983 the German publisher Kiepenheuer & Witsch, known for its previous affiliations with the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the CIA (Boge 2009: 386-402), approached him concerning a translation of *Cesarz* (1978; *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*, 1983),[171] after another translator, an acquaintance of Pollack's, had refused to accept a commission to render the book from English (Pollack 1994: 34).[172] As a result, Kapuściński's *Cesarz* (1978) became the first book Pollack translated from Polish and the German *König der Könige* was published in 1984 by Kiepenheuer & Witsch, to be reissued in a pocket edition by Fischer Verlag in 1986. Interestingly, the latter publisher is to be found on the list of "Sponsors in Europe," typed on 1st March 1968 in connection with the partly declassified book distribution and publishing programme masterminded by the CIA (Matthews 2003: 422).[173] An identical publishing pattern applied to *Szachinszach*. The German editions, translated from Polish, but mysteriously missing the troublesome pages on the overthrow of Mosaddegh's democratically elected government, appeared as *Schah-in-*

[170] Ryszard Kapuściński (1985) *Shah of Shahs*, translated by William R. Brand and Katarzyna Mroczkowska-Brand, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, and London, Melbourne, New York: Quartet Books.
[171] Ryszard Kapuściński (1983) *The Emperor: Downfall of an Autocrat*, translated by William R. Brand and Katarzyna Mroczkowska-Brand, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, and London, Melbourne, New York: Quartet Books.
[172] This and other fragments of Pollack's account (ibid.) prove that the German translation of *Cesarz* was commissioned by the Americans, for whom the question of translation ethics was unimportant. It was only by chance that the book's rendition into German was entrusted to a translator sensitive to the issue of indirect literary transfer. In turn, the first French edition of Kapuściński's book (*Le Négus*, 1984) appeared as an indirect rendition from English. In 2010, *Cesarz* appeared again, this time translated from Polish by Véronique Patte.
[173] The list may have been created as part of the reorganisational activities of the CIA after the Katzenbach 1967 report, following which many Agency's operations were disallowed in the United States but could continue abroad (FitzGerald 1967: doc. 264; Stonor Saunders 2013: 341).

schah in Pollack's translation in 1986 by Kiepenheuer & Witsch[174] and in 1988 by Fischer Verlag. The fact that neither the German translator, nor Drenka Willen of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, the editor of the English-language edition of *Shah of Shahs*, knew that the book would be censored (Domosławski 2013: 287) points to somebody taking such a decision behind their backs.[175] In a paper on the reception of Kapuściński's books in Germany, "Ryszarda Kapuścińskiego przypadki…," Pollack tried to understand the publishing market mechanics which prompted Kiepenheuer & Witsch to invest in *Schah-in-schah* (1986), although Kapuściński's previous book *König der Könige* (1984) proved to be unprofitable, so as to suddenly break a translation contract on the third book: *Jeszcze dzień życia* (Pollack 1994: 34-35). The most likely answer to this question is that the political changes which started gathering momentum in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s must have prevented the Americans from further financing the book publishing programme in Western Europe, bringing this kind of sponsorship to an end there. This left the risk of bringing out Kapuściński's *Jeszcze dzień życia* (1976; *Another Day of Life*; 1987) to the sole discretion of the publisher.[176]

1.7. 1990–2015

After 1989, capitalist market economy gradually replaced the state-organised publishing industry in Poland with all the consequences of this historical transformation. Freedom of expression, which Polish writers could at last enjoy, was accompanied by the flood of low-quality translated literature, mainly from English. In his analysis of the shifts in the Polish literary polysystem after 1989, Piotr Kuhiwczak wrote:

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[174] Domosławski writes that although the German translation (*Schah-in-schah*, 1986) was done from Polish, the American edition (*Shah of Shahs*, 1985) was taken as its basis (Domosławski 2013: 286). Literally, the copyright note to the 1986 German version states that the book appeared "With the approval from the Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers" (Kapuściński 1986: 6; trans. mine). The French edition (*Le Shah ou la démesure du pouvoir*, 1986) was translated from English and lacked the same portion of the original book as the American and German texts. In 2010, *Szachinszach* appeared in a complete direct translation into French (*Le Shah*), done by Véronique Patte. No complete renditions of the book into German or English have appeared to date.

[175] Paradoxically, thanks to institutional censorship in Poland, it is much easier to trace back the purging process in translations from English into Polish than from Polish into English. For example, while working on his *Censorship, Translation and English Language Fiction in People's Poland* (2015), Robert Looby was able to use archival evidence from the files of Poland's Censorship Office. No such material is readily available for Polish researchers into British or American publishing policies.

[176] Eventually, *Jeszcze dzień życia* appeared in Pollack's translation into German as *Wieder ein Tag Leben: Innenansichten eines Bürgerkriegs* (1994), published by Eichborn Verlag. The French rendition of *Jeszcze dzień życia* (*D'une guerre l'autre*), translated from English, appeared in 1988. In 2011, it was published in a direct translation by Véronique Patte (*D'une guerre l'autre: Angola 1975*).

> The most radical change, which had triggered a whole chain reaction, was the end of the state monopoly on publishing. This meant not only the end of censorship and micro-management of publishing houses, but also the end of the extensive but politically-motivated support system that publishing and other cultural institutions had enjoyed in the whole of post-1945 period. The end of subsidies led in turn to the privatisation of publishing and bookselling and the creation of the market. Now the publishers were free to choose what they wanted to publish, as well as what they wanted to translate from other languages. But this long-awaited freedom also had another face – competition, staff redundancies, bankruptcies and mergers. (2007: 152)

In the realm of translation, the break in the well-coordinated and financially stable patronage over translated literature had continued since 1980. Devoid of state subsidies in the new economic reality, the Author's Agency was first transformed into a foundation in 1993 and then closed in 1996. Notwithstanding the Agency's collapse, the Polish Society of Authors and Composers ZAiKS continues the tradition of awarding literary translators working into and from the Polish.

The 1990s proved to be a prolific decade for translators of Polish literature into English.[177] Among those awarded for their renditions at that time were: Bolesław Taborski, a poet and theatre critic, who received the ZAiKS Prize in Translation in 1990,[178] Wiesław Kuniczak, who became a laureate of the ZAiKS Prize in 1992,[179] Noel Clark, a British translator of Polish literature, awarded in 1994 by the Polish PEN Club,[180] Michał Jacek Mikoś, to whom the PEN Club Translation Award went in 1995,[181] and Clare Cavanagh, whose art of translation was appreciated in 1996, also by the Polish PEN Club.[182]

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[177] See Appendix 1 (p. 295).

[178] Taborski debuted with a co-translation, together with Lance Wright, of Jerzy Zawieyski's play *Ocalenie Jakuba* (1947; *The Deliverance of Jacob*, unpublished). Later he translated two collections of essays on drama by Jan Kott: *Szkice o Szekspirze* (1961; *Shakespeare, Our Contemporary*, 1964) and *Theatre Notebook: 1947-1967* (1968), as well as Wiktor Woroszylski's *Życie Majakowskiego* (1965; *The Life of Mayakowsky*, 1970), Tadeusz Burzyński and Zbigniew Osiński's *Laboratorium Grotowskiego* (1978; *Grotowski's Laboratory*, 1979), Karol Wojtyła's *Collected Plays and Writings on Theater* (1987) and Stanisława Przybyszewska's *The Danton Case; Thermidor: two plays* (1989).

[179] Kuniczak translated Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy*: *Ogniem i mieczem* (1884; *With Fire and Sword*, 1991), *Potop* (1886; *The Deluge*, 1991) and *Pan Wołodyjowski* (1888; *Fire in the Steppe*, 1992). For the critical comparative study of the *Trilogy*'s translations by Jeremiah Curtin, Sienkiewicz's contemporary, and Wiesław Kuniczak see "Henryk Sienkiewicz's Trilogy and Its Two English Translations by Jeremiah Curtin and W. S. Kuniczak. A Comparative Analysis," an MA thesis by Paulina Lisek, Warsaw University, Faculty of Modern Languages, Institute of English Studies, 2013.

[180] Three plays by the 19th-century dramatist Aleksander Fredro: *Zemsta*, *Śluby panieńskie* and *Dożywocie* were rendered by Clark into English and brought out in one volume as *Revenge; Virgin's Vows; The Annuity: Three Plays* (1993) by Absolute Classics. His other translations involve: Stanisław Wyspiański's *Wesele* (*The Wedding*, 1998); Karolina Lanckorońska's memoir from the Second World War, *Wspomnienia wojenne* (2001; *Those Who Trespass Against Us: One Woman's War Against the Nazis*, 2005), as well as an anthology of Polish verse *Bear Now My Soul* (2001).

[181] Also known as Michael J. Mikos. Mikoś's prolific output allows English-language readers to become acquainted with a cross-section of Polish literature, from the Middle Ages to the year 2000. By 1995 he had

The far-fetched consequence of martial law in Poland was the twenty-five-year-long caesura (1980-2004) in international meetings of translators of Polish literature. The discontinuity in the tradition of translation patronage, caused by the change of generations and political realities, resulted in the oblivion of Poland's pioneering role in the promotion of translation and translators. This, however, did not eliminate the need for the support of Polish literature abroad.

In 1998, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Poland, under Joanna Wnuk-Nazarowa, founded Zespół Literacki "polska2000" (Literary Group "polska2000") at the Villa Decius Association.[183] Zespół Literacki, headed by the renowned translator of Polish literature into German, Albrecht Lempp, was responsible for preparing the presentation of Polish literature at the International Book Fair in Frankfurt scheduled for the year 2000, of which Poland was to be the Guest of Honour.[184] From the beginning, Zespół Literacki was highly successful in promoting Polish literature abroad, not only at the Frankfurt Book Fair and via *New Books from Poland* catalogues distributed to translators, publishers and literary agencies since 1998, but also through the supervision of Polski Fundusz Literatury ©POLAND (the Polish Literary Fund ©POLAND), aimed at subsidising renditions of Polish literature into foreign languages. Initially, the Fund targetted German-speaking countries and the countries of the former Eastern Bloc, including Russia.

Notwithstanding all these achievements, four years after its creation, the further existence of Zespół Literacki was seriously endangered. In 2002, when ©POLAND Fund was to be introduced in France, Spain and the USA, it faced the prospect of cancellation. In order to prevent this bleak future, Parliamentary Questions to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture were sent, in which the necessity for a stable institution concerned

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translated selected texts for his anthology of *Medieval Literature of Poland* (1992), rendered *Treny* (1580; *Laments*, 1995) by the Polish Renaissance poet Jan Kochanowski and authored translations collected in more anthologies of Polish literature: *Polish Renaissance Literature* (1995), *Polish Baroque and Enlightenment Literature* (1996), *Polish Literature from the Middle Ages to the End of the Eighteenth Century*: *A Bilingual Anthology* (1999), *The Virgin Mary's Crown*: *A Bilingual Anthology of Medieval Polish Marian Poetry* (2002), *Polish Romantic Literature* (2002), *Polish Literature from 1864 to 1918*: *Realism and Young Poland* (2006) and *Polish Literature from 1918 to 2000* (2008).

[182] Cavanagh started translating from Polish together with the poet Stanisław Barańczak. The effect of their collaboration comprises: *Polish Poetry of the Last Two Decades of Communist Rule: Spoiling Cannibal's Fun* (1991), Wisława Szymborska's *View With a Grain of Sand: Selected Poems* (1995), *Nothing Twice: Selected Poems* (1997), *Poems New and Collected 1957-1997* (1998) and *Monologue of a Dog: New Poems* (2006). Independently, Cavanagh rendered Szymborska's *Nonrequired Reading: Prose Pieces* (2002) and a volume of poetry *Tutaj* (2009; *Here*, 2012), as well as Adam Zagajewski's three selections of poems: *Mysticism for Beginners* (1998), *Three Angels* (1998), *Eternal Enemies* (2008) and his collection of essays entitled *A Defense of Ardor* (2004).

[183] In January 2001, Zespół Literacki started operating as a branch of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute in Kraków.

[184] On that occasion, a special issue of *Chicago Review* (3-4, 2000) appeared, devoted entirely to "New Polish Writing."

with patronage over Polish literature in translation was stressed and where the professionalism of Zespół Literacki and the advantages from its activities to Polish culture and Poland's image abroad were highlighted (Klich and Szczypiński 2002: Zapytanie nr 553). After many perturbations, Zespół Literacki was transformed into Instytut Książki (the Book Institute) in December 2003 by the Polish Ministry of Culture under Waldemar Dąbrowski and the ©POLAND Translation Program replaced the Polish Literary Fund.

The Book Institute's statutory aim is "to promote Polish literature worldwide and to popularise books and reading within the country."[185] Since its formal inception, the Book Institute has organised three World Congresses of Translators of Polish Literature in Kraków: in 2005, 2009 and 2013, abundant with literary sessions and meetings with authors. The concept to organise international meetings of translators of Polish literature was reborn independently of the Congresses organised by the Author's Agency.[186]

One of the most important advantages of the Book Institute is its website: not only a cornucopia of informative articles and up-to-date news but also a platform of exchange between all links in the author-translator-publisher chain. The main focus, so far, is post-1989 Polish literature, but the scope of information about Polish writers has been recently extended. At present, the internet gives previously unthought-of possibilities, which translators in the past could only dream about. When Adam Czerniawski (*Materiały / III Międzynarodowy*…, 1976: 35) and Jean Karsavina (ibid.: 110) appealed for a regular and detailed press service about new books on the Polish literary market, it was not only the Cold War politics which was an obstacle in fulfilling these requests, logistic difficulties were also involved in collecting, publishing and circulating the necessary information.

The Book Institute established its own prizes for translation, among them the Transatlantyk Prize and the Found in Translation Award. In 2014, Bill Johnston became the first translator working into English to have received the Transatlantyk Prize, given since 2005 to outstanding ambassadors of Polish literature abroad. Johnston was also the first translator presented with the Found in Translation Award, founded jointly by the Polish Book Institute, Polish Cultural Institute in London, Polish Cultural Institute in New York and the W.A.B. Publishing House in Warsaw in 2007. The Award has been given annually since 2008 to "the translator or translators of the best translation of a work of Polish literature into English that was published as a book in the preceding calendar year."[187] The name of the

[185] http://www.bookinstitute.pl/w-instytucie,o-nas.html
[186] Email communication from Agnieszka Rasińska-Bóbr, 25th June 2012.
[187] See http://www.bookinstitute.pl/programy,o-nas.html

laureate is announced during the awarding ceremony, which is organised each year in the laureate's country of origin, preferably during the International Book Fair in that country.

Grzegorz Gauden, the Book Institute's Director admitted in an interview with Tomasz Surdykowski that the Found in Translation Award stemmed from the conviction that a good English translation creates the opportunity for a given book and its author to enter other publishing markets in the world (Gauden and Surdykowski 2012: 15). So far, however, the Book Institute's statistics reflect an opposite trend, where it is English which needs support, as a language into which very few books are translated in percentage terms, rather than a language whose widespread diffusion and assumed prestige could serve as a spur to translators from other countries. In a 1999-2009 ranking of translations sponsored by the ©POLAND Translation Program, English took only the eighth place (with 43 published translations), after German (86), Ukrainian (78), Russian (68), Czech (62), French (59), Hungarian (56) and Spanish (45) (Book Institute 2009).

The major difference between the Found in Translation Award and two other Polish prizes for literary translation: the ZAiKS Prize and the Polish PEN Club Award, is the regulation which states that only a translator whose book had been published in the preceding year may be nominated. This clearly pragmatic approach acts as an incentive for Anglophone publishers to invest in translated literature from Poland on a regular basis and is certainly effective. The recipients of the Found in Translation Award comprise Bill Johnston (2008), Antonia Lloyd-Jones (2009 and 2013), Danuta Borchardt (2010), Clare Cavanagh with Stanisław Barańczak (2011), Joanna Trzeciak (2012), Philip Boehm (2014) and Ursula Phillips (2015).[188] The formula of the Found in Translation Award, which requires regular activity on the publisher's side, resembles American prizes for literary translation, such as the American PEN Translation Prize, the Lewis Galantière Translation Award,[189] the National Translation Award or the Best Translated Book Award. Out of all the prizes for literary translation into English which exist at present only the John Dryden Translation Competition, sponsored jointly by the British Centre for Literary Translation and the British Comparative Literature Association, "awards prizes for unpublished literary translations from any language into English, [which include] poetry, prose, or drama from any period."[190]

[188] See Appendix 1 (p. 295).
[189] Given biannually since 1984 by the American Translators Association. Until 2015 no Polish-English translations received this award. See http://www.atanet.org/aboutus/honorsandawards_lewis.php
[190] See http://bcla.org/prizes-and-competitions/john-dryden-translation-competition/

The most recent literary translation patronage institution in Poland is Stowarzyszenie Tłumaczy Literatury (Polish Literary Translators Association) founded in 2010 in Warsaw.[191] The whole array of funding opportunities for translators in Poland and in Anglophone countries, as well as the rise of publishing houses oriented on translated literature, such as the Twisted Spoon Press in Prague (founded in 1992), Archipelago Books in Brooklyn (2003), Open Letter Books in Rochester (2007), or Stork Press in London (2012), contributes to the growing representation of Polish literature in English translation. Although indirect renditions of Polish literature still happen, there are decidedly fewer of them than in the past and the fact is usually shamefully hidden by the publisher.

[191] See Appendix 2 (p. 299).

Chapter Two
Accepted: English Translations of Polish Novels and Short Stories of the 1945-1989 Period

The material studied in this chapter was selected on the basis of two kinds of temporal boundaries. The first one demarcates the period of the publication of the original Polish texts and is framed by the years 1945-1989.[1] The second refers to the appearance of their English versions from 1945 to 2015. English translations done straight from the Polish-language manuscripts, written between 1945 and 1989, have also been taken into account. In some cases, although such instances were rare, the Polish original never appeared in print.[2]

Apart from the time limits, the works presented in this chapter were also subject to formal preconditions. First, the requirement concerning genre restricted all Polish-English literary translations to those of novels and short stories.[3] Second, only translations which appeared in book form were studied, be it paper or electronic, by single authors or in anthologies; thus, excluded from the analysis were short stories or novel excerpts published in journals. Finally, works written by Polish authors directly in English have been omitted, although these would provide interesting material for the study of multilingualism and the

[1] Although this study focuses on short stories and novels written and published between 1945 and 1989, it has to be borne in mind that the time which elapses between the creative process and the publication of a literary work results in a temporal transition zone. Obviously, due to the military struggle of 1939-1945 or the post-war political obstacles, at times the delay was even longer than usual. Hence, some of the narratives which originated shortly before or during the war could only be published after it finished. On the other hand, there were stories written before the collapse of communism in Poland which appeared in print after 1989.

[2] Examples include *Gothic Avenue* (1975) by Eugeniusz Żytomirski and *Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land* (1985) by Sara Nomberg-Przytyk. See Appendix 4 (p. 305).

[3] At times it was extremely difficult to establish clear-cut boundaries between autobiographies and autobiographical novels, fictionalised memoirs and historical novels, short stories and sketches. When in doubt, I usually followed the classification of the National Library in Warsaw, sometimes using arbitrary judgement, as in the case of an account of a mountain rescue "Stefano, przyjdziemy jutro" by Adam Skoczylas, which I classified as a *reportage*, although its English-language translation, *Stefano, we Shall Come Tomorrow* (1962), is described in the National Library's database as a short story. In turn, *Dziennik pisany nocą* (1970-1993; *Volcano and Miracle*, 1996) by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, a generic hybrid, was excluded from the analysis, although short stories are woven into its texture, as was *Wschody i zachody księżyca* (1982; *Moonrise, Moonset*, 1987) by Tadeusz Konwicki, containing a fragment of his youthful novel. As far as children's literature is concerned only stories which originated after 1945 and were published by 1989 were taken into account, while translations of traditional fairy tales for children, as well as folk tales for adults, were omitted in the present study. On the other hand, contemporary children's stories written in verse were included in the analysis, as was the case with Krystyna Pokorska's *Moje gospodarstwo* (1961; *Make Me a Farm*, 1963) or with the bilingual *Leśne harce* / *Woodland Frolics* (1987) by Jerzy Dąbrowski.

language of thought.[4] However, self-translations, in which the Polish-language text was written before its English version, are included, as far as it was possible to trace such a sequence.[5]

Although indirect renditions into English stay within the scope of this study, two novels co-authored by Hermann Field and Stanisław Mierzeński: *Angry Harvest* (1958) / *Okiennice* (1958) and *Duck Lane* [1961][6] / *Kaczory* (1962), were excluded. Even if both books are to be found in the bibliography of Polish-English literary translations by Michał Jacek Mikoś (2012: 48), the language in which they were originally created was German. The circumstances in which the narratives were born were extremely unusual, since their authors:

> [f]or several years […] had been held prisoner in the cellar of an interrogation center run by the Polish Security Police, outside Warsaw. Neither had been put on trial, and neither knew what was to become of him. […] They did not know, and meanwhile had nothing to occupy them but their thoughts. […] but now [from 1949] they had the company of each other; and, although neither could speak the other's language, they had a second language in common, German. […] At first [their stories] could not be written down, but when the prisoners finally became desperate, the authorities decided to grant one of their requests, which was for writing materials. […] And so they wrote *Angry Harvest*. In part it originated in Polish in the mind of one prisoner, in part in English in the mind of the other. It was narrated in German, and the American wrote it down in English. […] [W]hen release finally came in 1954, all the notebooks were returned to the American. (Field 1961: vii-viii)

Moreover, Hermann Field's account on the creation of *Duck Lane* makes it clear that it was only he who "had won the right to paper and pencil" and that:

> […] any idea of alternate spells of narrating as we had been doing these past months was out. Instead, we would start by taking the best of our stories so far and recast it. In bed at night, we would go over the bit ahead together. Next morning Stanisław would flesh it out aloud in his limited German while I took it down and adapted it freely in English. (Field and Field 1999: 226).

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[4] For instance Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Olive Grove* (1963). Although *Gaj oliwny* (1961) was published before the English version of the novel, the author wrote the English text earlier than the Polish one (Kuncewiczowa 1975: 164). The multilingual literary creativity of Stefan Themerson is another example (Wadley).

[5] Such is the case of Maria Kuncewiczowa's English-language *Tristan* (1974), which she herself called "a reproduction of the Polish *Tristan 1946*" (1967) (Kuncewiczowa 1975: 164), as well as Stefan Themerson's *Bayamus* (1949), *Professor Mmaa's Lecture* (1953) and *Cardinal Pölätüo* (1961), which "were written originally in Polish" (Wadley).

[6] The *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, published by the American Copyright Office of the Library of Congress, gives 1st November 1961 as the date of the registration of the American copyright to the book (1963: 268). It is possible, however, that both books, *Duck Lane* and *Kaczory*, came out in 1962, as the acknowledgements note in *Duck Lane* suggests (Field and Mierzeński [1961]: v).

After both men were released in 1954, they decided to have *Angry Harvest* and *Duck Lane* brought out, the manuscripts of which Hermann "would edit and prepare for submission to a publisher," subsequently sending Stanisław a copy of which the latter would do a Polish version (ibid.: 403-404). Since from 1951 Mierzeński "had been working on his English almost daily" and because in 1953 he made a New Year's resolution to converse only in English henceforth (ibid.: 315-316), it is possible that he rewrote the American version of the two manuscripts in Polish without the help from any translator. Due to their specific origin, both language versions of the books co-authored by Field and Mierzeński hold the rights of the original.[7]

Having defined the general nature of texts which are studied in Chapter Two, it is important to stress the interest of the present analysis, which lies with the question about the type of subjects which were chosen for English translation until and after 1989 from among Polish short stories and novels brought out and usually created in the times between the Second World War and the fall of the People's Republic of Poland. Naturally, many follow-up questions spring up with reference to the main one: Were the selection choices concerning the narratives studied here dictated mainly by world politics and publishing policies, which could be expected due to the polysystemic factors outlined in Chapter One, or were there also other factors involved? If so, were they extra-textual too or were they textual and to a large extent apolitical? Did the translation trends concerning a given theme fluctuate or were they rather stable throughout the decades? Did the selection reflect the popularity of novels and short stories in their home context? If the answer is positive, was it the official or the unofficial circulation which made them popular and in which they were widely read?

In order to answer the above questions, books by individual authors (subchapter 2.1) were grouped thematically into those devoted to or dominated by one of the following topics: the Second World War (section 2.1.1.), politics in post-war Poland (2.1.2.), everyday life in post-war Poland (2.1.3.), historical novels (2.1.4.), science-fiction and fantasy novels (2.1.5.) or children's stories (2.1.6.). Books which did not fall into any of the categories listed above, were grouped together (2.1.7.). Apart from bringing the books' thematic contents closer to the

[7] See Hermann Field and Stanisław Mierzeński, *Angry Harvest*, London: Gollancz and New York, NY: Crowell, 1958, Hermann Field and Stanisław Mierzeński, *Okiennice*, Warszawa: PIW, 1958, Hermann Field and Stanisław Mierzeński, *Duck Lane*, New York, NY: Crowell, [1961], and Hermann Field and Stanisław Mierzeński, *Kaczory*, Warszawa: PIW, 1962. In 1964, the German translation of *Angry Harvest* appeared as *Bittere Ernte*, done from the American edition of the novel and followed, in 1985, by Agnieszka Holland's West-German film of the same title. See Hermann Field and Stanisław Mierzeński, *Bittere Ernte: Roman*, trans. from the English by Ilse Krämer, Frankfurt am Main; Hamburg: Fischer Bücherei, 1964.

reader, this analysis also stresses other factors which contributed to them being chosen for English translation: firstly, their pre-1990 political aspect, irrespective of the surface-level subject, and, secondly, the Jewish theme, so significant in the Polish-American relations. Translation trends were contrasted and illustrated by decades, as thinking by decades is the most common, if not the most convenient, way of temporal division within the horizon of contemporary history. This, however, was done in reference to the systemic factors, political and historical, presented in Chapter One. Anthologies are presented and analysed separately in subchapter 2.2.

Bibliographical details of the studied translations, as well as of the originals are listed in Appendix 4 (p. 305) and always refer to the first editions of a given work, in English (given first) and, in the case of books by a single author, in Polish (following). Details of English-language reprints or re-editions are presented only if the book's title was changed in the subsequent edition. If different editions were published in the same year, all publishers are listed. Retranslations are introduced under separate entries and are counted individually. Details of Polish-language reprints or re-editions are given in the case of works which had several debuts: abroad, in *samizdat* publishing and, finally, in official circulation, usually after 1989. Revised or expanded editions are also registered.

Appendices 5 (p. 341), 6 (p. 345) and 7 (p. 349) present a numerical division of the analysed material, serving as the basis for the graphic representations of translation trends.[8] The English translations are broken up into two groups dependent on the circumstances in which their Polish originals appeared. Such a division allows for the comparison of the translation tendencies of works officially accepted and promoted in Poland with those published by émigré writers or by authors who stayed in Poland but had their books brought out in independent publishing houses abroad[9] or, since 1976, in *samizdat*. If a book was rendered directly from the unpublished Polish manuscript and its translation was first published in book form abroad, it was counted among those appearing outside Poland. The same concerns texts which could not appear in book form in Poland, even if they were first printed in Polish journals.[10]

[8] See Charts 1-15 (pp. 359-373).
[9] For instance, Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Apelacja*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki, 1968.
[10] For example, Marek Hłasko's *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* and *Następny do raju*, as well as Andrzej Braun's *Piekło wybrukowane*.

2.1. Books by a Single Author

2.1.1. The Second World War

Two out of the four novels which appeared during the 1945-1949 period were concerned with the topic of the Second World War.[11] Janusz Meissner's *L for Lucy* (1945) was written from the perspective of Allied military operations against the German army,[12] while Wanda Wasilewska's *Just Love* (1945) represented a love story between the fictitious characters of Maria Pavlovna and Grigory Ivanovich. Wasilewska's story ends with Moscow saluting Grigory on behalf of the whole Soviet nation for his heroic fight in the victorious war.[13] These two titles were the aftermath of the prolific wartime publishing trend, which included translations, dictated by immediate educational and propaganda purposes.[14] At the time when the Soviet Union was the most powerful eastern ally in the struggle against the Axis powers, Wasilewska's novels were translated into English and published not only in Moscow by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, but also in Anglophone countries alongside other Soviet authors. As Nicolas Nabokov wrote in his *Bagázh: Memoirs of a Russian Cosmopolitan* (1975):

> The bulk of American public opinion had switched twice in three years in its feeling towards Russia. First it was *against* – after the partition of Poland and the "fiendish" Finnish war. Stalin in newspaper cartoons looked like a nasty mixture of a wolf and a bear. Then, as abruptly, opinion was *for* Russia: after the Nazi invasion of Russia in 1941. Stalin was suddenly beautified, represented as a knight in armour defending the Kremlin against a horde of Teutons, or reproduced from Margaret Bourke-White's slenderized and idolized profile photographs. And then, in 1943, the pro-Russian feeling was enhanced by Stalingrad. (qtd in: Stonor Saunders 2013: 31)

[11] See Appendices 4 (p. 305) and 5 (p. 341) and Chart 1 (p. 359).

[12] Meissner first published the book under the pseudonym Flight-Lieutenant Herbert, which is also the name of his *alter ego* character in the novel. *L for Lucy* is Meissner's continuation of *Żądło Genowefy* (1943), rendered into English by an anonymous translator as *G for Genevieve* (1944).

[13] Among Wasilewska's earlier novels, *Tęcza* (1943) was especially popular. The book was published in Polish by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow, followed by numerous reprints of its English translation. Two independent English versions of *Tęcza* appeared in the same year: *The Rainbow* (1943) translated by George Hanna and Elizabeth Donelly, brought out by the same Moscow publisher and *Rainbow* (1943), rendered by Edith Bone and published by Hutchinson.

[14] Wartime publishing of Polish literature took place in clandestine Polish presses, outside the General Government (the nazi-occupied part of Poland under the governorship of Hans Frank) or abroad (e.g. Janusz Meissner's book was published in both language versions in Edinburgh by Składnica Księgarska, while the novel by Wasilewska was originally brought out by the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow). Printing was conducted also on field presses. Some of the works by Polish authors, published during and after the war, like Rulka Langer's *The Mermaid and the Messerschmitt* (1942), were written directly in English. For other books, translations were specially commissioned. Henry Charles Stevens, for example, worked for the Polish Ministry of Information (Government in Exile in London) as an editor and translator from 1940 to 1945, rendering into English, among others, Arkady Fiedler's *Dywizjon 303* (1942; *Squadron 303*, 1942) and Maria Kuncewiczowa's work on experiences of Polish women in occupied Poland, which appeared in London as *Polish Millstones* (1942).

The next turn in American public opinion of Russia, or rather the Soviet Union, came after the war, this time for the worse, as part of the ideological battle between communism and capitalism. Even the supporters of social justice and equal distribution of wealth were finally disillusioned with the Soviet version of communism and dismayed when the atrocities of Stalin's regime were revealed.

Although interesting from the point of view of publishing policies, the two novels by Meissner and Wasilewska proved to be historically unrepresentative of more extreme wartime realities. Shortly after the military struggles ended, the survivors from ghettos and death camps most frequently chose to express their experiences in the form of diaries or memoirs, even if the latter were enriched with dialogues and novel-like descriptions.[15] English-language translations of such war literature as *Dziennik z getta warszawskiego* (manuscript; *Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary*, 1945) by Mary Berg, *Dymy nad Birkenau* (1945; *Smoke Over Birkenau*, 1947) by Seweryna Szmaglewska,[16] *Oświęcim: pogarda i triumf człowieka (rzeczy przeżyte)* (1945; *Twenty Months at Auschwitz*, 1968) by Pelagia Lewińska, *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu* (1946; *We Were in Auschwitz*, 2000) by 6643 Janusz Nel Siedlecki, 75817 Krystyn Olszewski and 119198 Tadeusz Borowski,[17] or *Ludzie walczącej Warszawy* (1947; *Food for the Children: A Diary of the Warsaw Rising – Summer 1944*, 1975) by Anna Bogusławska provide a stark contrast to the novels by Meissner and Wasilewska.

In the 1950s, just as between 1945 and 1949, the selection of books about the Second World War was directly dependent on the available Polish originals; therefore, renditions of memoirs and diaries dominated again over those of novels and short stories. The Cold War factor in choosing books for English translation became clearly noticeable in this decade, as many of the translated memoirs could not officially appear in Poland until the fall of communism.[18]

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[15] See Appendix 8 (p. 353).

[16] Fragments from Szmaglewska's book used to be obligatory reading in primary schools of the People's Republic of Poland in 1947 and 1949. Between 1995 and 1999 they were read in secondary schools (Franaszek 2006: 232). For more on this and other compulsory reading at schools in Poland between 1946 and 1999 see Anna Franaszek, *Od Bieruta do Herlinga-Grudzińskiego: wykaz lektur szkolnych w Polsce w latach 1946-1999*, Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2006.

[17] Interestingly, *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu* (1946; *We Were in Auschwitz*, 2000) by 6643 Janusz Nel Siedlecki, 75817 Krystyn Olszewski and 119198 Tadeusz Borowski (the numbers which figure in front of the authors' names are their Auschwitz camp numbers), generally considered as a book of the prisoners' memoirs, contains pieces by Borowski, which, only slightly reworked, constitute part of his short-story collection *Pożegnanie z Marią* (1948; Farewell to Maria). In Borowski's biography, *Ucieczka z kamiennego świata* (1962), Tadeusz Drewnowski writes that it was Borowski who to a large extent co-authored or significantly edited the narratives of his two fellow-prisoners (Drewnowski 1972: 151-155).

[18] These included Józef Czapski's *Na nieludzkiej ziemi* (1949; *The Inhuman Land*, 1951), Gustaw Herling-Grudziński's *Inny świat: zapiski sowieckie* (manuscript; *A World Apart: A Memoir of the Gulag*, 1951) and Wacław Zagórski's *Wicher wolności* (1957; *Seventy Days*, 1957). See Appendix 8 (p. 353).

Adolf Rudnicki was the first Polish writer whose short stories devoted to the wartime sufferings of Jews, contained originally in his collections *Szekspir* (1948) and *Ucieczka z Jasnej Polany* (1949), were selectively rendered into English in book form. Four pieces, translated by Henry Charles Stevens, were published as *Ascent to Heaven* (1951), whereas eight texts by the same writer appeared in Jadwiga Zwolska's rendition as *The Dead and the Living Sea and Other Stories* (1957).[19] While the pieces translated by Stevens focused on the annihilation of Polish Jewry, those additionally selected by the Polonia Publishing House[20] carried the extra dimension of faith in all-human rebirth and socialism in post-war Poland (the title story "The Dead and the Living Sea") or treated on the pre-war fight for a better, democratic world with equal chances for a good life granted to all people ("The Horse"). Also Maria Dąbrowska's anonymously translated *A Village Wedding and Other Stories* (1957), a selection of war and post-war pieces from *Gwiazda zaranna* (1955), was published by Polonia. Both collections were aimed at reminding the English-speaking world of the nazi atrocities, the memory of which had been conveniently swept under the carpet by Anglo-American politicians for the sake of building the Cold War coalition of the capitalist West against the communist East. Additionally, being free from formal constraints of socialist realism, Dąbrowska's as well as Rudnicki's volumes could successfully promote Polish writing abroad. Of the latter, Jerzy R. Krzyżanowski wrote:

> A special mention should be given to a handful of Jewish writers who survived the Holocaust and were determined to give an artistic testimony to the national tragedy. Among that small group, Adolf Rudnicki left a few collections of prose works, including the novella "Złote okna" […], a moving account of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943. His writings were free of communist propaganda, an exceptional case during the period of Stalinist pressure on Polish literature between 1949 and 1955.[21] (1998: 1018-1019)

[19] Zwolska's translation was based on the second, expanded and slightly revised edition of *Żywe i martwe morze* (1955). In comparison with *Żywe i martwe morze* from 1952, the 1955 edition underwent minor stylistic modifications. In turn, *Żywe i martwe morze* (1952) was a joint edition of Rudnicki's two earlier collections: *Szekspir* (1948) and *Ucieczka z Jasnej Polany* (1949). See Appendix 4 (p. 305) for more details.

[20] On the role which the Polonia Publishing House played in socialist and communist propaganda in Poland and abroad see Chapter One (pp. 38-39).

[21] In 1971, following the anti-Semitic campaign in Poland, Rudnicki moved to France. In 1977, he returned to Warsaw, where he died in 1990.

The fourth book on the topic of war brought out in English translation in the fifties, Maria Kuncewiczowa's psychological *The Conspiracy of the Absent* (1950), portrayed life in occupied Poland seen from an outsider's perspective.[22]

Although two out of the four translated books described here were published abroad, in fact, most of the credit for their appearance in English goes to Marian Kister. In 1945, immediately after the war in Europe ended, Kister went to London to successfully seek cooperation with British publishers, among them Walter Hutchinson and Dennis Dobson (Kister 1980: 123-124). It was with them that he shared the publication costs of Kuncewiczowa's *The Conspiracy of the Absent* and Rudnicki's *Ascent to Heaven*.

The record number of English translations of wartime narratives enclosed in the form of novels and short stories came in the 1960s. The harsh realities of nazi concentration camps were depicted in the complex psychological novel *Passage Through the Red Sea* (1962) by Zofia Romanowiczowa[23] and a collection of short stories *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories* (1967) by Tadeusz Borowski. The plight of Polish Jews hiding from annihilation on the Aryan side was portrayed by Henryk Grynberg in the novel *Żydowska wojna* (1965; *Child of the Shadows*, 1969; later reprinted as *The Jewish War*), which appeared together with his short story "Grób," "The Grave." *Żydowska wojna* was rendered into English by Celina Wieniewska, "Grób" by Marcus Wheeler. Both translators Jewish themselves, the topic of wartime relations between Poles and Jews must have been particularly close to them, becoming especially relevant after the 1967-1968 anti-Semitic purges from Polish political and cultural institutions, which eventually culminated in the expulsion of Jews from Poland. After Adolf Rudnicki, Grynberg became the second author of fiction devoted to the Jewish theme published in English rendition, thus slowly paving the way for the increasing interest in the Holocaust and Jewish studies among Anglo-American readers. The motivation, however, for publishing their works must have been different. In the case of Rudnicki's stories, their translation was meant to stir the conscience of those Anglo-American readers who had already forgotten or never fully realised the extent of German war

[22] Kuncewiczowa stayed in exile in France, England and the United States from 1939 until 1968, when she returned to Poland for good. Before, she had visited Poland on various occasions.

[23] Romanowiczowa's book, originally published in 1960 by Libella in Paris, which she and her husband, Kazimierz Romanowicz, ran together from 1946, was also brought out in Poland by PIW in 1961. Unlike other émigré writers, Romanowiczowa did not boycott Polish publishing houses (Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 234). However, between 1961 and 1987, her books could not be published in Poland. *Passage Through the Red Sea* is set on two temporal planes: during and after the war, the memory of which the novel's protagonist cannot escape, also because of an unrequited homosexual fixation on her concentration camp inmate.

crimes. With Grynberg's book it was in the interest of Western anti-communist propaganda to reveal to the world the anti-Semitic face of People's Poland.[24]

Black Torrent (1969) by Leopold Buczkowski, *Road to Nowhere* (1963) by Józef Mackiewicz and *Island of Salvation* (1965) by Włodzimierz Odojewski[25] spoke about the Eastern Borderlands under the German and Soviet occupations, as well as the internal national and ethnic tensions between peoples living in these lands. *Camp of All Saints* (1962) by Tadeusz Nowakowski, set in a DPs camp in Germany, depicted the moral degeneration of people living in the enclosure, where the roles of the victim and the perpetrator were easily reversed. It was not until 1990 that the Polish original of this novel, as well as of Mackiewicz's *Road to Nowhere*, were officially published in Poland.

The bilingual *Dłonie na murze* / *Hands on the Wall* (1961) by the Catholic writer Jan Dobraczyński constitutes the only case of a book brought out in English by a Polish publishing house in the decade concerned. The novel focuses on the tragedy of children who were stolen from their parents in *Aktion Zamość*[26] and subsequently sent to extermination camps or, if they had desirable racial traits, accommodated with German families or placed in orphanages in order to be Germanised against their will. Pax, the Polish publisher of this and many other books by Dobraczyński, was affiliated to the pro-communist secular Catholic Pax Association, of which Dobraczyński was a member.[27]

In contrast to the previous decade, the 1970s marked a sharp decline in English translations of Polish novels on war. Only two were rendered: *Most na drugą stronę* (1963; *The Bridge to the Other Side*, 1970) by Monika Kotowska and *Bomby i myszy: powieść mieszczańska* (1966; *Of Bombs and Mice: A Novel of Wartime Warsaw*, 1970) by Mina Tomkiewicz. Both books portrayed the contrast of life under German occupation: inside and outside the Warsaw Ghetto. Memoirs and diaries again dominated over the translations of

[24] In order to counteract the growth of anti-Semitism in Poland, connected with the 1950s repatriation of Polish Jews from the USSR, the Literary Institute in Paris brought out a volume of poetry entitled *Izrael w poezji polskiej: antologia* (1958). The publication was financed by the Free Europe Committee. See Attachment 17 (pp. 395-396).

[25] Odojewski's *Wyspa ocalenia* was published in Poland in 1964 in the censored version. A full, uncensored publication appeared in instalments at the turn of 1972/1973 in the New York-published *Nowy Dziennik*, after Odojewski's emigration from Poland. The first uncensored edition in Polish was published in 1990, followed by its changed version in 2008. The unpublished manuscript of *Wyspa ocalenia* served as the basis for the English translation by David John Welsh. The translated book appeared in 1965, both in the UK (as *No Island of Salvation*) and in the USA (as *Island of Salvation*). For details of all the book editions see Appendix 4 (p. 305).

[26] Carried out by Germans between 1941 and 1943, the action had the character of ethnic cleansing, in which the whole Polish population (around 110,000 people, including 30,000 children) was forcibly removed from the region around the city of Zamość.

[27] During the war, as the head of the Division for Abandoned Children at the Warsaw municipal welfare department, Dobraczyński helped to rescue many Jewish children by placing them in convents. Following the Warsaw Uprising, he was imprisoned in Bergen-Belsen.

novels and short stories in this decade; however, even they were becoming difficult to be accepted by the English publisher. The interest in war novels declined heavily in Anglophone countries at that time and new generations of English-speaking readers, free from the wartime trauma, had different expectations from literature than the generation of their parents. Moreover, because of the political climate of the Cold War, twenty-five years after the common struggle against nazism, Anglophone publishers were even more reticent towards translated literary works from behind the Iron Curtain than shortly after the war. In 1970, Henry Charles Stevens gave the following characteristic of the British market for renditions of Polish literature, among them novels and memoirs about the Second World War:

> A factor which specially affects fiction is the shift away from novels. […] It is one more factor affecting the English publisher's reaction to proposals for the publications of works from Polish – and what I have said applies equally to Russian books. *Needless to say, in times of international political tension his reticence is even more marked*. But the difficulties do not wholly arise on the English side. […] A novel has to be outstanding to find acceptance by an English publisher, and it is a fact that almost all the finest novels written in Poland since 1945 have dealt with some aspect of the war and its consequences. Andrzej Braun's *Próżnia*, regarded by some critics as among the finest novels of recent years, is an excellent instance of the problem.[28] *The English reader, or at least the English publisher, is no longer interested in novels of war and its aftermath; even the spate of war memoirs is beginning to satiate. In this respect we differ fundamentally from the continental peoples: the 25th anniversary of victory day passed almost unmarked in England, while it was celebrated with much ceremony on the continent*. (1970: 84-85; emphasis added)

Indeed, between 1971 and 1984 no novels or short-story collections about the Second World War were published in translation from Polish, neither in the UK, nor the USA.

The situation began to change from the mid-1980s. The growing interest in Holocaust literature among new generations of the English-speaking Jewish communities, translators included, was stimulated by the increasing popularity of Jewish Studies as an academic discipline, especially in the United States. The awareness of the need to document and publish eyewitness accounts of the atrocities committed on Jews during the Second World War led to new translations of books on the Jewish theme, also from the Polish. *Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land* (1985) was Nomberg-Przytyk's third book and its original was initially accepted for publication in Poland. It was "about to go to press when, in June 1967,

[28] Andrzej Braun, *Próżnia*, Warszawa: PIW, 1969. Stevens fails to mention the fact that Braun's novel could not have been interesting to Anglo-American publishers for political reasons, since it described the post-war domestic fights between communists and underground partisans, favouring the former.

she was called to the editor's office and told that, in the wake of the Six-Day War between Israel and the Arab states, her book could not be published until she removed all references to Jews" (Hirsch 1985: xi). Because of growing anti-Semitism in Poland, Nomberg-Przytyk emigrated to Israel[29] and her collection of stories shared the lot of many other books by Jewish writers at that time, particularly of memoirs and diaries, which were either published abroad in translation from Polish manuscripts or have remained unpublished. Interestingly, although Ida Fink left Poland for Israel in 1957, where she joined the Union of Polish-language Writers, the original version of *A Scrap of Time and Other Stories* came out in London.[30] Also Andrzej Szczypiorski, who joined the anti-communist opposition in the late 1970s, had the Polish version of his novel, *The Beautiful Mrs. Seidenman*, published abroad by the Literary Institute in Paris. In Poland the two books were circulated unofficially until the fall of communism.

Two other novels which came out in the 1980s were Stanisław Lem's *Hospital of the Transfiguration* (1988), depicting the extermination of patients of a psychiatric hospital in the nazi "euthanasia programme" shortly after the outbreak of the war, and *Rondo* (1989) by Kazimierz Brandys, in which the protagonist created a fictitious underground resistance unit in German-occupied Warsaw in order to protect a beautiful actress, the love of his life. It was probably the great popularity of Stanisław Lem's science-fiction novels which helped to promote his *Hospital of the Transfiguration*, since the publisher could risk bringing out any of Lem's books, counting on the writer's name as the brand which *per se* was a guarantee of mercantile success. Also, in the case of *Rondo* by Brandys, the mildly sensational plot must have been an additional asset to the fact that he was an émigré writer at that time.[31]

In the 1990s and the 2000s, English translations of war narratives from the old repertoire appeared mainly due to the interest in Holocaust literature. Three novels and a collection of stories devoted to this topic came out in the 1990s: *The Final Station: Umschlagplatz* (1994) by Jarosław M. Rymkiewicz, *Bread for the Departed* (1997) by Bogdan Wojdowski, *The Rat Palace* (1999) by Bogdan Rutha and *Missing Pieces* (1990), a selection of short stories by Stanisław Benski, written on the basis of wartime as well as post-war accounts of Jewish pensioners from a nursing home in Warsaw, of which Benski was the managing director. Wojdowski's novel is an authentic, although fictionalised, first-hand

[29] Originally, Nomberg-Przytyk wanted to go to the United States; however, she was denied the right to enter the US because she was a communist (Przytyk 2009: 1'16"-1'35"). After a few years in Israel, she moved to live with her elder son and his family in Canada.
[30] The same applies to Fink's other book *Podróż* (1990; *The Journey*, 1992). Her later books, however, were first published in Poland. In Israel only Hebrew translations of Fink's works have appeared.
[31] Kazimierz Brandys left Poland for Paris in 1981.

testimony told from the perspective of a Warsaw Ghetto survivor. It was published in Madeline G. Levine's translation by Northwestern University Press in the Jewish Lives series. Rymkiewicz's *The Final Station: Umschlagplatz* poses the question about the Polish (and God's) responsibility for the Holocaust, while Rutha's *The Rat Palace* explores the nature of good and evil in man.

The years 2000-2009 saw the publication of *Medallions* by Zofia Nałkowska, and Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Holy Week: A Novel of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*,[32] both brought out by university presses. Although it was not until the year 2000 that *Medallions* came out in English translation in their entirety, selected stories from this collection had frequently featured in anthologies of Polish literature before. The other book appeared in 2007 as the outcome of a group project in an advanced Polish language course at the University of Pittsburgh (Swan 2007: xiii). The fact that Andrzej Wajda's film, *Wielki Tydzień* (1995), based on Andrzejewski's story, is often part of the curriculum of Polish Studies at American universities, might have suggested this undertaking.

No novels or short stories on the subject of the Second World War, written in Polish between 1945 and 1989, have been published in English translation since 2008.

2.1.2. Politics in Post-War Poland

Books which revealed crimes and injustices of stalinism or which gave testimony to the mental enslavement and to absurdities generated by Soviet-style communism in post-war Poland were a prized weapon in the Cold War battle between East and West, especially if they were written by the former believers of the communist creed. Just as novels and short stories about the Second World War gave way in statistical terms to diaries and memoirs in English translation, essays and political biographies proved to be the most popular vehicle for narratives documenting the political dimension of life in post-war Poland. However, from the 1950s not only political non-fiction, but also Polish novels and collections of short stories concerned with politics started appearing in English.[33]

Before, in the 1945-1949 period, two factors contributed to the fact that no English renditions of books of this kind appeared. On the one hand, domestic censorship effectively blocked any objective treatment of the post-war political struggles in Poland, especially if

[32] Interestingly, the American publisher treated Andrzejewski's piece as a novel, while in Poland, "Wielki Tydzień" (Holy Week) was included in the collection *Noc: opowiadania* (1945), which points towards the lack of equivalence between the Polish notion of "opowiadanie" and the English term "short story."
[33] See Appendix 5 (p. 341) and Chart 2 (p. 360).

such accounts were to be published in book form.[34] On the other hand, which was a mirror reflection of the first factor, Anglo-American publishers were not interested in the purged versions of historical or political narratives brought out in Poland.[35]

In the 1950s, the cultural Cold War between communism and capitalism led to English translations of two novels and one collection of stories which drew a negative picture of the political reality in post-war Poland. These were *The Seizure of Power* (1955) by Czesław Miłosz[36] and *The Graveyard* (1959) by Marek Hłasko, their originals published in Polish in an uncensored form by the Literary Institute in Paris.[37] In his autobiographical *Piękni dwudziestoletni* (1966; *Beautiful Twentysomethings*, 2013), Hłasko recalls:

> I finished *The Graveyard* and sent it to a publisher. They turned me down. I asked why. They answered me: "Such a Poland doesn't exist." I asked: "Shall I take the publisher's rejection as final?" They answered me: "Yes." Some time later, I was talking with one of the most intelligent critics of the younger generation who used to work at that very publishing house. "It just wasn't your thing," he told me. "Politics isn't for you. You need to grab on to what you know how to write about: a guy and a girl… And meanwhile, try not to think too much. In your case, it's truly unnecessary." I approached another publisher, where I'd published my first short novel, or rather a long story, called *Next Stop – Paradise*. They refused me: "Such a Poland doesn't exist." But they offered to publish the book if I'd change just one sentence: "You've turned Poland into one big concentration camp, and there is no need for barbed wire and dogs because there's nowhere to run." I said I wouldn't cross out a single sentence. They told me the book was terrible. […] And since *The Graveyard* and *Next Stop – Paradise* were still unpublished, and I was told I had the right to find another publisher, I wanted to publish my stories. Jerzy Giedroyc became my publisher. (2013: Kindle locations 2593-2604; 2785-2787)

The fate of the third book published in English in the 1950s, Andrzej Braun's stories contained in the collection *The Paving Stones of Hell* (1959), is like that of Marek Hłasko's *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* (1963; *The Eighth Day of the Week*, 1958) and *Następny do raju* (1958; *Next Stop – Paradise*, 1960). All three texts first appeared in Polish on the wave of the October Thaw in literary magazines or supplements to local newspapers; then, however, they

[34] In general, Polish censorship was more lenient with publications in periodicals, especially of low circulation, than with books.

[35] For a long time this was the case of *Popiół i diament* by Jerzy Andrzejewski. Written in the years 1946-1947 and published in book form in 1948, it did not come out in English until 1962, after Andrzejewski's departure from communism, but even then it appeared in a censored form. See pp. 119-121 in this chapter.

[36] Also brought out in English as *The Usurpers* (1955) by the British publisher Faber and Faber. Subsequent editions appeared as *The Seizure of Power*. More on the publishing policies of Western translations of Miłosz's book see Chapter One (pp. 42-44).

[37] *Zdobycie władzy* (*The Seizure of Power*) appeared in 1955; *Cmentarze* (*The Graveyard*), published in one volume with *Następny do raju* (*Next Stop – Paradise*), in 1958. The manuscript of *Cmentarze* was smuggled to Paris in 1957 by Agnieszka Osiecka (Derlatka 2015: 156-157).

did not receive the *imprimatur* for the book form edition. In the end, Hłasko's books were published by the Literary Institute in Paris and it was not until the 1980s that his and Braun's narratives could officially appear in Poland.

Among the novels which appeared in English in the 1950s, one had a completely different nature. Brought out by the Polonia Publishing House, Igor Newerly's *Pamiątka z Celulozy* (1952; *A Night of Remembrance*, 1957), translated by Ilona Ralf Sues, herself an author of a fascinating book about China under the Kuomintang regime,[38] focused on a peasant hero looking for a job in pre-war Poland. Having gone through numerous hardships the protagonist matures and joins the communist party. At the end he receives the party's blessing to go and fight in the Spanish Civil War.[39] It is possible that the book's publication in English was conceived by Polish propagandists as an answer to Miłosz's *The Seizure of Power*.

The number of English renditions of novels and short stories commenting on the political situation in post-war Poland grew in the 1960s to seven. The source texts of all the translations were brought out in Polish publishing houses, which was the outcome of more tolerant censorship, giving a green light to books critical of "the errors and perversions of the past period" (Gomułka in: "Current Developments…" 1958: 39). The formal and stylistic devices employed by some of the authors also helped: Jerzy Andrzejewski mainly used historical metaphor, Tadeusz Konwicki gave an oniric quality to his narration, and Sławomir Mrożek resorted to the grotesque. These and other literary devices became the keys decoding and encoding the experience of being infatuated with totalitarian ideologies, criticising the communist system or exploring the nature of good and evil in man. As a result, the works were much more nuanced in their artistic form than those from the previous decade. The plots of some of the narratives dating from this period can often be read simultaneously on several cognitive levels, where the historical, the political, the psychological, and the philosophical intertwine.

Jerzy Andrzejewski, who in 1957 left the communist party, known as the Polish United Workers' Party, penned three out of the seven novels published in English in the 1960s. His *Ciemności kryją ziemię* (1957; *The Inquisitors*,[40] 1960) and *Bramy raju* (1960; *The Gates of Paradise*, 1962) exposed communism as a totalitarian system in the form of a

[38] See Ilona Ralf Sues, *Shark's Fins and Millet*, Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co, 1944.
[39] Worthy of attention is the fact that Marek Hłasko's recently published debut novel *Wilk* (2015) took *Pamiątka z Celulozy* for its model (Młynarczyk 2015: xi, xv-xxiii).
[40] The choice of the English title and other elements of the editorial paratexts (Genette 1997), including the dominant red colour of the British- and American-edition book covers, were supposed to limit the anti-totalitarian message of the novel to narrow anti-communist reading.

parable and made a reference to the author's own attraction to and involvement with the communist ideology. The two novels were given a historical guise: *The Inquisitors* is set in 15th-century Spain, while *The Gates of Paradise* tells the story of the Children's Crusade of 1212. The third book, *Popiół i diament* (1948; *Ashes and Diamonds*, 1962), was brought out in English translation in the same year as *The Gates of Paradise*, fourteen years after the novel's publication in the original Polish.[41] The book depicted the general instability in post-war Poland: in-fights between groups representing different political options, hopes for a better future and its uncertainty, as well as moral dilemmas which accompanied people and affected their choices and lives. What may have seemed too unsavoury in the novel for the official literary critics in Poland, for example the depiction of the lack of widespread popular support for the new communist government in Polish society, as well as the pessimistic ending, automatically became an asset for capitalist propaganda. However, the book did not draw the attention of English-language publishers at the time it first appeared in Poland. This may have been caused by Andrzejewski's reticence about the Soviet involvement in the takeover of power by communists in Poland (Synoradzka-Demadre 2002: xviii-xix). Moreover, in 1950, Andrzejewski renounced all his pre-communist writings in the self-critical confession "Notatki: Wyznania i rozmyślania pisarza" (Andrzejewski 1950: 4).[42] Due to this, the writer and the books he published before his departure from communism would not have been welcome in the West. The fact that Andrzejewski was the prototype of Alfa, one of the captive minds portrayed by Czesław Miłosz in his famous anti-totalitarian study, did not help, either.

It is no coincidence then that Andrzejewski's novels, *Popiół i diament* included, were translated into English only after he became a communist dissident. Andrzej Wajda's film of the same title (1958) must have been an additional factor, if not the spur for the book's publication in the West. Wajda's work owed its huge popularity not only to its cinematic values, but also to the shift of accents in the original plot. In his film, the Polish director moved the tragic figure of Maciek Chełmicki, the anti-communist Home Army soldier, decidedly to the fore.[43] The English translation of the novel also differed from its Polish

[41] Even earlier, parts of the novel, in a slightly different form, appeared in instalments in the 1947 issues of the weekly *Odrodzenie* under the much-telling title *Zaraz po wojnie* (Right After the War) (Synoradzka-Demadre 2002: xviii). See Attachment 18 (p. 397).

[42] Similar renunciations were taking place in the United States at the time of the Red Scare of the early 1950s. Paul Engle, the long-time director of the Iowa Writers' Workshop and the co-founder of the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa, had to disavow his past left-wing political sympathies (Bennett 2015: 91-92).

[43] The visual version of *Popiół i diament* (1958, *Ashes and Diamonds*) completed Andrzej Wajda's war trilogy, following *Pokolenie* (1954, *A Generation*) and *Kanał* (1956, *Kanal*). English translations of the film scripts were

version, and not only because Maciek became Michael in David John Welsh's rendition. More importantly, *Ashes and Diamonds* was severely mutilated by Weidenfeld & Nicolson, the London publisher of Andrzejewski's books. The following quotation shows that Polish novels from the 1945-1989 period at times suffered double censorship, without counting the author's own self control. First they were subjected to official purging in Poland and then they came through a similar process in the British or American publishing houses, not rarely behind the translator's back. Welsh thus commented on the shape of his rendition of *Popiół i diament* in the published form:

> Probably the best known Polish novel in my translation is Andrzejewski's *Popiół i diament* (*Ashes and Diamonds*) (largely due to the film). The translation was published in London and is now available in paper-back there. But *we have not been able to find a publisher in the US*, so the novel is not available here. *In connection with* Popiół i diament, *I might add that my translation was subjected by the publisher to ruthless cutting, entirely without my knowledge or approval*. Only when the page proofs reached me, did I see what they had done. By that time it was too late to protest. *The cuts completely ruined the novel and made nonsense of the title*. (1970b: 88; emphasis added)

Since the original of *Ashes and Diamonds* was written before Andrzejewski's departure from communism, lacking from the English-language rendition were two long passages present in the Polish version: one devoted to Maciek Chełmicki's hesitation before the completion of his mission to assassinate Stefan Szczuka, an idealistic communist functionary, the other being Szczuka's moving funeral speech at the graves of two workers whom Chełmicki had mistakenly killed instead of Szczuka himself. The key words: "ashes" and "a star-like diamond," crucial for the understanding of the book's title come from the first of the removed passages, which contained two quatrains from the Prologue to Cyprian Kamil Norwid's drama *Za kulisami* (1865-1866), inscribed on one of the gravestones at the cemetery where Chełmicki is lying in wait for Szczuka.

The way in which Welsh's rendition of *Popiół i diament* was treated by the translation commissioners is a perfect illustration of publishing policies at the service of world politics. Both George Weidenfeld and Nigel Nicolson, who co-founded their publishing house in 1948,

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made available in 1973 as *"Ashes and Diamonds," "Kanal," "A Generation": Three Films by Andrzej Wajda*, published by Lorrimer in London and Simon and Schuster in New York, introduced and translated by Bolesław Sulik. The scripts were originally written by Bohdan Czeszko (*A Generation*), Jerzy Stefan Stawiński (*Kanal*) and Jerzy Andrzejewski with Andrzej Wajda (*Ashes and Diamonds*). The last-mentioned film must have been an extra incentive for profitable sales of the English version of the novel, although only Penguin, the publisher of the second edition of the book (1965), used it in a direct way. The front cover of the book features a graphic representation of a still from the film with the armoured figure of Maciek Chełmicki impersonated by the legendary Polish actor Zbigniew Cybulski. See Attachment 19 (p. 398).

held conservative views, with Weidenfeld being one of Nicolas Nabokov's[44] closest contacts (Stonor Saunders 2013: 185). No wonder then that Weidenfeld & Nicolson commissioned, or agreed to commission, the translation of Andrzejewski's anti-totalitarian books and felt at ease to selectively "edit" to their liking the pre-dissenting novel that *Ashes and Diamonds* constituted. In the United States in turn, the novel was not published until 1980, when it appeared in the Writers from the Other Europe series, also in a censored form. In 1991, both fragments were restored in the Errata part of the Northwestern University Press edition of the novel.[45]

Another book about politics in post-war Poland published in English in the decade concerned was *A Dreambook for Our Time* (1969) by Tadeusz Konwicki. This novel was also subject to editorial changes without the translator's consent. Welsh gave the following account of his experience in that matter:

> The market for translations from Polish varies from year to year. I had no commissions for three years (during which I translated *Lalka* (*The Doll*) at my own risk and for my own pleasure). Then, after a year of discussions, correspondence, talks etc., the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press (Cambridge, Mass.) decided to commission me to translate Konwicki's *Sennik współczesny* (*The Contemporary Dream Book*),[46] Dygat's *Disneyland*[47] and Buczkowski's *Czarny potok* (*Black Stream*)[48] – a total of 1,500 pages. […] All three have been ruthlessly "edited" by editors who did not know any Polish. So, although my name appears on the title page as translator, they are really my work "improved" by editors.[49] (1970b: 87-88)

A Dreambook for Our Time was Konwicki's first book to be published in English translation. It tells a story of a guilt-tormented narrator-hero, a former partisan in the

[44] Secretary General of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, established and backed by the CIA.

[45] I have not managed to establish the authorship of the English version of the restored fragments. The Errata section of the Northwestern University Press edition of the book gives the following introduction: "In the D. J. Welsh translation of *Ashes and Diamonds* several of the Polish names have been translated incorrectly into English and two lengthy passages have been omitted from the text. The corrections and missing texts are here provided" (in: Andrzejewski 1991: xv). There is, however, no information on who "omitted" the fragments nor who rendered the ones in the Errata. The editor of the book, Barbara Niemczyk, left my enquiries unanswered. It is possible that the restored pieces come from David John Welsh's manuscript.

[46] *Sennik współczesny* (1963) actually appeared as *A Dreambook for Our Time* (1969).

[47] *Disneyland* (1965) is the original title of Dygat's book, published in Welsh's translation as *Cloak of Illusion* (1969).

[48] *Czarny potok* (1954) was launched in English under the title *Black Torrent* (1969).

[49] Unlike the English-language version of *Popiół i diament*, Welsh's translations of *Sennik współczesny*, *Disneyland* and *Czarny potok* were not subjected to political censorship. In fact, they contain all the passages present in the original books and seem to be very faithful to the source text. What Welsh might have had in mind in this case, then, could have been major stylistic changes introduced by anonymous editors of his renditions. However, without access to Welsh's papers, it is impossible to examine the scope of these alterations.

Lithuanian Borderlands, which were annexed by the Soviet Union after the war, about to make a confession of his past to the Party collective. As the novel's translator wrote:

> After an unfortunate debut in 1952[50] with a Stalinist "production" novel (recently burned at the stake in China), Tadeusz Konwicki proceeded after the 1956 thaw in Poland to publish some of the most strikingly original novels imaginable in the Communist bloc. His *Dreambook for Our Times* [sic], first published in 1963, and now available in English translation from the MIT Press, has been perhaps ominously compared to Joseph Conrad and Camus, and described by Czesław Miłosz as "one of the most terrifying novels in contemporary Polish literature." (Welsh 1970a: 501)

Even earlier than Konwicki's book, Welsh authored a translation of *Matka Królów* (1957; *Sons and Comrades*, 1961) by another post-1956 revisionist, Kazimierz Brandys. The novel "disclosed the internal struggle in the upper echelons of the ruling communist party" (Krzyżanowski 1998: 1019). In turn, short stories by Sławomir Mrożek, translated by Konrad Syrop and published in the collection *The Elephant* (1962), were advertised on the front cover as "A mordant satire on totalitarianism." However, a German reviewer from the Catholic *Deutsche Tagespost* acknowledged in a blurb at the back of the book that "[t]here is an element of the mysterious in Mrożek, which cannot be explained away politically" (in: Mrożek 1962). In 1968, *The Ugupu Bird* followed, a selection of stories from *Wesele w Atomicach* (1959), *Deszcz* (1962) and an excerpt from the novel *Ucieczka na południe* (1961), also in Syrop's rendition.

The only novel of a directly political nature to be published in English translation in the 1970s was *The Appeal* (1971) by Jerzy Andrzejewski. Translated by Celina Wieniewska, *Apelacja* was brought out in its original Polish by the Literary Institute in Paris in 1968, even though Andrzejewski never left Poland. Until *samizdat* publishing started operating in 1976, it was the only way to publish works which otherwise had no chance of appearing in domestic publishing houses. *The Appeal* told the story of a retired worker of the meat industry, Marian Konieczny. Suffering from a persecution complex, he appeals for the right to be incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital. Apart from a clear allusion to the all-pervasive invigilation in a totalitarian state, the novel also referred to the shocking case of the judicial murder committed in 1965 on Stanisław Wawrzecki. Convicted for corruption in the meat trade, Wawrzecki was sentenced to death without the chance to appeal, which meant breaking his constitutional rights. Almost twenty years later, in 1983, *Apelacja* was published officially in Poland.

[50] Actually, Konwicki's first book, *Przy budowie*, was first published in 1950. 1952 was the year when the second edition of the novel appeared. See Tadeusz Konwicki, *Przy budowie*, Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1950.

The fact that only one book on Polish politics was brought out in English translation in the 1970s was most probably linked to a series of events in the United States. First, in 1967, came the disclosure of the CIA being the real *spiritus movens* behind the Congress for Cultural Freedom. In the same year, the Katzenbach Committee Report necessitated the reorganisation of the CIA's activities at home and abroad. This was followed by the Watergate scandal in the first half of the 1970s and finally, in 1976, the Church Committee Report was published. It is likely that after the revelations which made known to the general public the scope of American intelligence operations, also in the sphere of culture, no translations of Polish books from this thematic group were commissioned for a while. Apart from the political factor, the 1970s record low in English renditions of books on post-war politics in Poland must have also been the outcome of the ebb and flow of trends and fashions in publishing business, which in this decade was dominated, at least in the Anglo-American context, by the science-fiction genre, one which proved to be authentically lucrative for Anglo-American publishers.

The cyclic interest of the Western World in given national literatures, dependent on the situation of the country or region of their origin, is well illustrated by the 1980s peak in translations of Polish writing. Altogether eight novels and short-story collections concerning Polish post-war politics were brought out in English translation in that period, all of them based on Polish originals which were published in *samizdat* or abroad. Those originally published in *samizdat*, without censorship intervention included: *Nierzeczywistość* (1977; *A Question of Reality*, 1980) by Kazimierz Brandys, *Kompleks polski* (1977; *The Polish Complex*, 1982) and *Mała apokalipsa* (1979; *A Minor Apocalypse*, 1983) by Tadeusz Konwicki, *Moc truchleje* (1981; *Give Us This Day*, 1983) by Janusz Głowacki, *Raport o stanie wojennym* (1982; *The Canary and Other Tales of Martial Law*, 1983) by Marek Nowakowski and *Kraj świata* (1988; *The Edge of the World*, 1988) by Janusz Anderman. The remaining two books first appeared in Polish abroad: *Brak tchu* (1983; *Poland Under Black Light: With the Author's New Story from Warsaw*, 1985) by Janusz Anderman and *Czas zatrzymany do wyjaśnienia* (1983; *A Stolen Biography*, 1983) by Szymon Szechter. The books mainly settled the score with communism, but the question of what means should be adopted in the fight for freedom was also brought up by Konwicki in *A Minor Apocalypse*. The motif of a famous writer, asked to set himself on fire in an act of anti-communist protest, drew

attention to the problem of moral and physical limits to which demands from one group of people could be imposed on an individual in the name of the common good.[51]

The creation of the unofficial publishing and circulating chain allowed Polish authors to speak freely on the political situation in Poland without having to turn to publishers who were based abroad and who sometimes happened to reject valuable books.[52] After martial law had been introduced in Poland, the underground literary periodical *Puls*, until then published unofficially by NOWa and Krąg, moved to London. There, a series of books aimed at the Polish émigré and domestic opposition readership was initiated in 1982 as Puls Publications, by analogy to the domestic Biblioteka Pulsu (1979-1981). *Moc truchleje* by Janusz Głowacki, which reflected the workers' strikes in Gdańsk, came out in Biblioteka Pulsu in 1981 to be republished in 1982 by Puls Publications. *Brak tchu* by Janusz Anderman appeared in the same publishing house in 1983, after the writer left Poland.[53] Another *samizdat* literary quarterly, *Zapis*, also cooperated with anti-communist opposition in London. Konwicki's two novels, *Kompleks polski* (1977) and *Mała apokalipsa* (1979), first brought out in Poland as special issues of *Zapis*, were then republished in Polish by Stephen Spender's Index on Censorship in 1978 and 1979 respectively.

Not surprisingly, almost all of the political novels and short-story collections which came out in English translation in the 1980s represented a literary trend described by Stanisław Eile as "patriotic realism" (1992a: 183). The two books by Janusz Anderman, *Brak tchu* (1983; *Poland Under Black Light: With the Author's New Story from Warsaw*, 1985) and *Kraj świata* (1988; *The Edge of the World*, 1988) are especially interesting in this context. As Eile wrote:

> The vision of Poland in Janusz Anderman's stories *Brak tchu* […] is close to the reality portrayed by Konwicki and Nowakowski. Although the technique and style are his own, the way he understands events belongs to a similar pattern. The sharp contrast between "we" and "they," the forbidding power of the state as opposed to the nightmare of everyday existence, the decay of moral standards and the martyrdom of the chosen few, valiant commitment confronted by ugliness and vulgarity – these form the backbone of his world. (ibid.: 196)

However,

[51] The self-immolation motif, used in the novel, could have been an echo of Ryszard Siwiec's protest against the Soviet aggression on Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the infamous participation of Polish divisions in this event.
[52] For instance, Jerzy Giedroyc turned down Zyta Oryszyn's *Czarna Iluminacja*, which finally appeared in 1981 in *samizdat* by NOWa.
[53] See Attachments 20 (p. 399) and 21 (p. 400).

> [i]n his later stories, *Kraj świata* […], Anderman abandons any trace of martyrology and heroism. His prose is also free from rhetorical appeals. […] His story "Jakoś pusto…" ["Empty… Sort of"] shows the interned Solidarity activists to be moral opportunists, who care much more about appearances and patriotic myths than about truth. Playing the role of martyrs but in actual fact well-fed thanks to foreign aid, they seem demeaned by their self-pity and petty complaints. Worse still, their heroic postures are followed by their own intolerance, as they move "closer and closer to hopeless propaganda" which had formerly been used by the government. (ibid.: 198)

What deserves attention here is the fact that the English translation of Anderman's story "Jakoś pusto…" appeared in book form twice: once, as the subtitle piece in *Poland Under Black Light: With the Author's New Story from Warsaw* (1985); for the second time, in *The Edge of the World* (1988), where it belongs in the Polish original. The story foreshadowed Anderman's novel *Cały czas* (2006; All the Time), which mercilessly "resist[s] a narrative of progress from oppression to freedom" (Herra 2014: ii) and constitutes an example of what Agnieszka Herra calls "postresistance" literature. Herra contends that during the period of social movements, "especially the ones deemed 'successful' such as the American Civil Rights Movement and the Polish Solidarity Movement," their narrative framework "reflects unity, collectivity, and group success in collective memory" (ibid.). However,

> [o]nce the movements end, this vision of collective identity usually continues because of the symbolic and political gains made, even if the mass collective no longer functions as a whole. [Herra] argue[s] that the voices that did not fit into the collective movements emerge subsequently to question this monologic language in literary form. (ibid.)

Anderman's story, "Jakoś pusto…," was one such voice coming straight from the anti-communist opposition movement and challenging the self-mythologising strain within the Solidarity movement even before the fall of communism in Poland. This stayed in agreement with Jerzy Giedroyc's fear of a new oppression awaiting post-communist Poland, this time taking the form of virulent nationalism.

After the fall of the Iron Curtain, only one Polish novel on pre-1989 political issues was brought out in English translation. Andrzej Szczypiorski's *Msza za miasto Arras* (1971), based on historical events in the medieval town of Arras, was a parable of the anti-Semitic persecutions in Poland, in full swing in the second half of the 1960s, culminating in "the Party-engineered purge of Jews from educational institutions and 'sensitive' professions and

the ensuing emigration of some 15,000 Jews from Poland" (Levine 1992: 15). The novel was published in Richard Lourie's translation as *A Mass for Arras* (1993).

In the period 2000-2015 no new translations of novels nor short stories about politics in post-war Poland of the period 1945-1989 were published in English, which distinctly illustrates the dependence of this kind of literary repertoire on the changing political and historical circumstances.

2.1.3. Everyday Life in Post-War Poland

Everyday life in post-war Poland was naturally defined by politics, which, depending on the general and individual circumstances, brought about changes for better or for worse, social and material advancement or degradation. On the one hand, thanks to people who genuinely believed in the possibility of building a better, fairer world, illiteracy was eradicated, the same type of free education was guaranteed to everyone alongside with full employment, and a comprehensive health care system and pension scheme were introduced. On the other hand, communism generated systemic pathologies of its own. What distinguishes the novels and short stories analysed in this section from the preceding thematic group is the focus on daily concerns and routines, interpersonal relations and individual histories rather than on big-scale, international politics.

In general, it seems that English-language publishers were not interested in novels or short-story collections depicting everyday life in Poland,[54] since the attention in the West was drawn to the other side of the Iron Curtain chiefly by political events. Moreover, any positive representation of daily life in communist Poland would certainly be at odds with the interests of those who wanted to retain the supremacy of capitalism. Also the brutal reality of the years shortly after the Second World War, especially in the so-called Recovered Territories,[55] in which Western publishers and readers may have been interested, had not been described in novel or short-story form for a long time.

Translations of Maria Dąbrowska's selected short stories from *Gwiazda zaranna* (1955), published as *A Village Wedding and Other Stories* (1957), were the first ones to introduce the theme of daily existence in post-war Poland to the English-language readership

[54] See Appendix 5 (p. 341) and Chart 3 (p. 361).
[55] Former German territories granted to Poland in 1945 as a result of the Potsdam Agreement. "The first post-war national census in 1946 showed that the recovered territories, with a total population of 5,022,000, were inhabited by over 3,000,000 Poles including over 1,000,000 autochthonous Poles" (Winiarski 1986: 281).

through this literary form, free from the socialist realism convention.[56] In the opinion of Jerzy R. Krzyżanowski "the publication of Maria Dąbrowska's novella 'Na wsi wesele' […] signaled the end of an artificial, politically motivated presentation of contemporary life. And readers generally received it as such"[57] (1998: 1019). Symptomatically, the collection was brought out by the Polonia Publishing House. The fact that Dąbrowska's stories were attractive from the literary point of view and at the same time presented a positive picture of the new Poland must have been the reason why they were selected for English rendition by this Warsaw-based publisher. The date of the collection's publication suggests that *A Village Wedding and Other Stories* may have been brought out in translation, albeit anonymously, as part of the preparations for the 1st International Conference of Translators of Literary Works organised in the Polish capital in 1958.

In contrast to the Polonia Publishing House, Western publishers preferred works by writers who fell into disfavour with Polish decision makers, such as Marek Hłasko's *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* (1963; *The Eighth Day of the Week*, 1958) or Leopold Tyrmand's *Zły* (1955; *Zly*, 1958, British title / *The Man with the White Eyes*, 1958, American title) and *Siedem dalekich rejsów* (1975; *The Seven Long Voyages*, 1959). Although *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* was officially published in the Polish literary journal *Twórczość* (1956) and filmed by Aleksander Ford (*Ósmy dzień tygodnia*, 1958), it could not appear in book form and the film was banned from screening until 1983.

Even though extremely popular in Poland, Tyrmand's *Zły* did not fare well in English translation. In all probability it was this book that David John Welsh, its translator, referred to when he said:

> *I do not know on what basis publishers in the US select books for translation. I have been translating from Polish for 20 years and still do not know how their minds work.* Of course, being a best-seller helps. I suggested a now forgotten best-seller to publishers in London and New York, and they were enthusiastic. We published it in England and the US – and it was a terrible failure. (1970b: 87-88; emphasis added)[58]

[56] Only part of the stories in this selection were devoted to life in times of peace, as some of them were set during the Second World War. See Section 2.1.1. on the Second World War in this chapter (p. 109).

[57] However, Krzyżanowski adds that "Much broader appeal with the reading public was achieved by Leopold Tyrmand's crime thriller *Zły* (1955)" (ibid.: 1019). Criticising socialist realism constraints in his diary of 1954, Leopold Tyrmand asked rhetorically "Why was Maria Dąbrowska, a renowned writer of the interwar period, unable to write even one book throughout all those years?" (2011: 325; trans. mine).

[58] Jan Nowak Jeziorański's papers contain correspondence from David John Welsh (Welsh 1958), in which the translator asks for information about Tyrmand, to be used in the promotion of the English-language edition of *Zły*. See Attachment 22 (p. 401). In his letter Welsh pays particular attention to Tyrmand's conciliatory article on West Germany (Tyrmand 1958: 4-5), a fact which nevertheless was not included in the translated book's paratext. Instead, both Anglophone editions, the British and the American one, point out that even the Prime

The question about the selection criteria employed by Anglophone publishers must have frequently bewildered translators of Polish literature. However, Welsh probably realised that the process was dependent to a large extent on the Cold War circumstances. The failure of the English translation of Tyrmand's Polish bestseller could have been the result of a cultural rift between the Polish and Anglo-American realities of the 1950s. The local colour of the Warsaw setting, loved so much by the Polish readers, may not have appealed to the readerships in Great Britain and the United States and the humorous pastiche of a thriller could have looked to them simply as pulp fiction. The unsatisfactory promotion of the book could also have been the case.

Tyrmand's *Siedem dalekich rejsów* (1975) was published in Polish by Polska Fundacja Kulturalna in London, sixteen years after the publication of its English rendition, which appeared as *The Seven Long Voyages* (1959). The fate of the Polish original of this book shows how short-lived the October Thaw in Poland was and how fast the turning of the screw began under Gomułka's government. The whole print run of the book was confiscated in 1957 as a result of the tightening political grip. This act of censorship was officially justified by the novel's allegedly pornographic content and promotion of capitalism. In reality, it must have been political vengeance taken on the writer, whose fascination with the "corrupt" Western lifestyle was all too evident. From 1961, Tyrmand's books were repeatedly denied publication, even *Zły* could not be reprinted.

Because of political troubles, both writers, Hłasko and Tyrmand, decided to leave Poland: Hłasko in 1958, Tyrmand in 1965. The former soon regretted his decision, while the latter was happy to stay, from 1966, in the United States.[59]

In the 1960s two novels about daily life in post-war Poland appeared in English rendition. One of them was Marek Hłasko's *Następny do raju* (1958; *Next Stop – Paradise,* 1960), whose publication followed the same pattern as that of *Ósmy dzień tygodnia*: first, it appeared officially in installments in the Polish weekly *Panorama*, then it was published in book form by the Literary Institute in Paris, and, finally, its English version came out in Norbert Guterman's rendition in New-York-based Dutton. The other book appearing in the

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Minister of Poland, Józef Cyrankiewicz, read and liked the book. Since the English translation of *Zły* appeared after Tyrmand fell in disfavour with the Polish authorities, the inclusion of Cyrankiewicz's positive opinion gave an additional ironic twist to the book and was a witty marketing strategy. In 1958, Welsh was still based in London, before he moved to the USA to teach, from 1961 to 1983, at the University of Michigan.

[59] The Polish government refused to issue Tyrmand a passport for several years, until the authorities changed their tactics and decided, in 1965, to get rid of "inconvenient elements." Leopold Tyrmand left Poland in March 1965, first for Europe and Israel, then for the United States, after he had fallen out of favour with the communist decision-makers for his "bourgeois lifestyle." A scholarship from the US Department of State helped the writer in his initial period in America.

1960s was Stanisław Dygat's *Disneyland* (1965; *Cloak of Illusion*, 1969), which alongside Tadeusz Konwicki's *Sennik współczesny* and Leopold Buczkowski's *Czarny potok* were commissioned for translation to David John Welsh by the MIT Press in that decade. The English version of *Disneyland* was promoted as a novel "in which the hero is a member of the disaffected young generation of Eastern Europe. […] an interesting insight into the life of Polish youth today" (in: Dygat 1969: front cover flap).

The only book about everyday existence in post-war Poland which appeared in English translation in the 1970s was *Zoom* (1978), a novel by Andrzej Brycht. As its protagonist, the book featured an unscrupulous press photographer, whose life devoid of any deeper meaning is not the outcome of political oppression, but stems from his own aggressive personality. The narrative, however, is not supposed to be a moral treaty. On the contrary, what it seems to be is a cold depiction of a brutal male character who takes pride in rather than reflects on his instrumental treatment of other people. Brycht himself was one of the ugliest figures on the Polish literary scene of the 1945-1989 period, both in his writing and in his life. A careerist, opportunist and security service informer, in 1971 he made a political volte-face and asked for asylum in Belgium, eventually settling down in Canada. It was there that he managed, as an émigré writer, to have his story "Zmienna ogniskowa" published in English as *Zoom*.[60]

The fact that in the 1970s only one book about daily life in post-war Poland was brought out in English rendition and that in the 1980s no novels or short stories appeared in this thematic group was the outcome of two main factors: different axiological criteria applied to literary works, and world politics. As Henry Charles Stevens commented:

> Polish writing generally, when not dealing with the war and occupation, is of a good but not outstanding quality: viewed from the international angle its themes are small, personal, insignificant. Further, the Anglo-American trend towards obsession with sex is not reflected in Polish literature, for which, perhaps, the Polish people have reason to be thankful. But one looks in vain for a novel which brings large, all-human themes into the focus of personal lives; Anka Kowalska's *Pestka*[61] was a study in personal relationships which had a universal quality to it; if it had been written in English it would certainly have

[60] The book's translator, Kevin Windle, worked from the Polish manuscript. Apart from *Zoom*, Windle made the first English drafts of two more manuscripts by Brycht: *Sandra* and *Stopa Ikara* (The Foot of Icarus) (email communication from Kevin Windle, 29th February 2016). These renditions, however, never appeared in print. Instead, in 1990, both stories came out in their original Polish as pseudo-translations of English novels by Andrew Bright done by Andrzej Brycht, Bright and Brycht being the same person. The game of assumed identities was overtly played by the publisher, since the back covers of the two books feature a photo of Andrzej Brycht described as one of Andrew Bright and is followed by the facsimile of Brycht's/Bright's signature.

[61] Anka Kowalska, *Pestka*, Warszawa: Pax, 1964. The novel has not been translated into English.

> been accepted by a publisher here. But it was by a Polish author, there was a translation fee to be considered, etc., etc. Perhaps one is not even justified in looking for the "big" novel with universal themes: the day of that kind of novel probably ended with Thomas Mann. (1970: 85)

The above quotation is an excellent example of the changing nature of value judgements as conditioned by politics. While in the times of the Cold War, novels or short stories about daily life in post-war Poland were *a priori* treated by translation initiators as "small, personal, insignificant" (ibid.), after 1989 the Anglo-American perception of individual or local themes in Polish literature changed substantially. This of course has been accompanied by a more general tendency, since hardly anyone believes any more in the universality of the big European novels of the 19th century, or rather hardly anyone believes that universal themes could only be enclosed within this kind of narrative. Such a view had already been contested before the 1970s from various standpoints of literary criticism and individual reception.[62]

Even if at present the gap between the lifestyles of such writers as Dorota Masłowska or Michał Witkowski and their English-language audiences is smaller than that between the experiences of Wiesław Myśliwski, Edward Redliński or Edward Stachura and their potential readers who lived on the Western side of the Iron Curtain in the 1960s, '70s and '80s, back then the Anglophone public never had the opportunity to judge the quality of the works by the three Polish writers for themselves. Unlike the political novels, books about everyday existence in post-war Poland which did not comply with the negative image of life behind the Iron Curtain propagated in the West could not count on sponsorship from the CIA or émigré organisations, unless their authors became dissidents at some point of their writing career, just as Leopold Tyrmand's example proves. Although novels such as *Nagi sad* (1967), *Pałac* (1970) or *Kamień na kamieniu* (1984) by Wiesław Myśliwski, *Listy z Rabarbaru* (1967), *Awans* (1973) or *Konopielka* (1973) by Edward Redliński, *Cała jaskrawość* (1969) or *Siekierezada* (1971) by Edward Stachura offered both a local colour and a universal message, at the same time being artistically attractive, they had no chance of appearing in English translation before the collapse of communism in Poland. Polish narratives of the 1960s and '70s which described the lives of ordinary people were rich and interesting and represented one of the best periods in Polish contemporary literature. Until 1989, however, people in the West were accustomed to seeing those from the East as "the Other," as exemplified by the title of the Writers from the Other Europe book series published by Penguin. Although a

[62] In turn, the lack of obsession with sex in Polish literature, mentioned by Stevens, stemmed from the preventive moral censorship in People's Poland, rather than from the lack of interest in the topic.

similar perception existed in the East, such alienation was politically more profitable for the West. While people in the East took any insider criticism of capitalist exploitation coming from the West for communist propaganda, for example Günter Wallraff's books,[63] people from the West did not expect novels by writers from the East to be anything but descriptions of misery.

On the other hand, the lack of English translations of books from the apolitical "everyday life" category in the 1980s must have been connected with the dramatic political events which decidedly dominated over other concerns. Only after the fall of communism in Europe were two of Wiesław Myśliwski's books from the old repertoire published in English translation: *The Palace* (1991) and *Stone Upon Stone* (2010). Although they continue to be important for Polish literature today, novels and short stories from the 1960s and '70s by such writers as Edward Redliński, Edward Stachura, Zyta Oryszyn, Jan Himilsbach or Marek Nowakowski have still not been rendered into English, apart from the latter's painfully schematic *Raport o stanie wojennym* (1982).

In the 1990s, translations of three novels and part of the stories contained in Stanisław Benski's collection *Missing Pieces* (1990) were devoted to everyday existence in post-war Poland. Benski's stories as well as the three novels: Paweł Huelle's *Who Was David Weiser?* (1991, Antonia Lloyd-Jones's translation / 1992, Michael Kandel's retranslation), Henryk Grynberg's *The Victory* (1993) and Hanna Krall's *The Subtenant* (1992), were concerned with Jewish protagonists living in post-1945 Poland. Although Huelle's *Weiser Dawidek* was originally rendered into English by Antonia Lloyd-Jones, it was sold by the British publisher, Bloomsbury, to the American Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, where Michael Kandel was given the task of adapting Lloyd-Jones's work for the American market. The changes introduced by Kandel were so big that Lloyd-Jones did not agree to legitimise the American version of the book with her name and Kandel figures as the sole translator of the novel in the US edition. Indeed, the differences between the two versions of the book are so substantial that Kandel's editing must be considered a retranslation.[64] The British translator thus explained the situation:

[63] Born in 1942, Günter Wallraff is "a German journalist who became well known in the 1970s and '80s for his books on the life and situation of people living at the bottom of the social ladder […]. He lived, for a while, as they lived, for example as a 'guest-worker', in disguise, and managed to give vivid descriptions of how they were treated" (Widerberg 2008: 419 n. 21). Interestingly, one of the publishers of Wallraff's most famous books in their German-language original was Kiepenheuer & Witsch. Their Polish translations appeared between 1973 and 1988 in Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.

[64] The same situation concerns *Opowiadania na czas przeprowadzki* (1991; *Moving House and Other Stories*; 1994), the second book by Huelle, also translated by Lloyd-Jones, but marketed in the United States simply as *Moving House* (1995) and featuring Kandel's name as the original author of the American rendition.

> It can be difficult for British translators to protect their work in the US because of different laws concerning copyrights. If a US or UK publisher buys world rights, they often sell the translation on to a publisher in the other country, and the translator has no say in changes made by the second publisher. Usually they are minor changes, to conform with local spelling and vocabulary, which really don't matter. Some publishers make no changes at all (e.g. the US edition of Jacek Hugo-Bader's *White Fever* in my translation is identical to the UK one). In my experience the extent of these [Kandel's] revisions [in Huelle's two books] was exceptional.[65]

Since Lloyd-Jones has long become an established and much appreciated literary translator, a similar situation is unlikely to be repeated in her case. Nevertheless, it shows that US publishers certainly need to adopt fair copyright policies and protect rather than appropriate the effort of another translator, especially if s/he is a beginner in the trade. The American practice of "editing" translations, the rights to which were bought from the British publisher, has a long stance, although previously it resulted in the omission of the "editor's" name rather than that of the original translator. A fragment from the American PEN's "Manifesto on Translation," written in September 1969, stated:

> Translations made [sic] in England have been published in the United States only after large-scale revisions have been made, without any mention of the names of the translators responsible for the revisions. This is inherently dishonest, for the reader has no way of knowing who is ultimately responsible for the translation. (PEN Translation Committee 1971: 379)

The ongoing practice of adapting British translations for the American market shows that although a lot has changed for the better since the day when the manifesto was published, situations when the original translator has to either accept the unnecessary changes or, if they disagree, accept that their name will not appear in the book at all, still occur, notwithstanding the time and effort they invested in translating the work. As a result, the reader still "has no way of knowing who is ultimately responsible for the translation" (ibid.) or is presented with curious translation copyright notes, such as the one in the translation of Edward Reicher's *W ostrym świetle dnia: Dziennik żydowskiego lekarza 1939-1945* (1989; *Country of Ash: A Jewish Doctor in Poland, 1939-1945*, 2013), which states: "translated from the French edition by Magda Bogin, based on Jessica Taylor-Kucia's English version of the original Polish" (in: Reicher 2013: 2).

[65] Email communication from Antonia Lloyd-Jones, 25th November 2013.

After the relatively prolific 1990s, no novels or short stories about the daily reality in post-war Poland were published in English translation in the years 2000-2009. In 2010, the publication of Bill Johnston's English rendition of Wiesław Myśliwski's *Kamień na kamieniu* (1984; *Stone Upon Stone*) for the first time introduced to the English-language readership a novel from the repertoire of post-war peasant literature in Poland. For his translation Bill Johnston received in 2012 the Best Translated Book Award, the American PEN Translation Prize and AATSEEL Book Award for Best Literary Translation into English.[66]

2.1.4. Historical Novels

According to the definition from *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, a historical novel is:

> […] a novel that has as its setting a period of history and that attempts to convey the spirit, manners, and social conditions of a past age with realistic detail and fidelity (which is in some cases only apparent fidelity) to historical fact. The work may deal with actual historical personages, as does Robert Graves's *I, Claudius* (1934), or it may contain a mixture of fictional and historical characters. It may focus on a single historic event, as does Franz Werfel's *Forty Days of Musa Dagh* (1934), which dramatizes the defense of an Armenian stronghold. More often it attempts to portray a broader view of a past society in which great events are reflected by their impact on the private lives of fictional individuals. Since the appearance of the first historical novel, Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814), this type of fiction has remained popular. Though some historical novels, such as Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1865–69), are of the highest artistic quality, many of them are written to mediocre standards. One type of historical novel is the purely escapist costume romance, which, making no pretense to historicity, uses a setting in the past to lend credence to improbable characters and adventures.[67]

The above understanding of what constitutes a historical novel made it possible to accommodate within this kind of writing works by authors as different as Jan Dobraczyński, Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Tadeusz Konwicki, Zofia Kossak, Maria Kuncewiczowa, Andrzej Kuśniewicz, Paweł Łysek, Mieczysław Maliński, Henryk Panas, Julian Stryjkowski, Piotr Szewc or Melchior Wańkowicz. In some instances, their narratives strive at recreating the minutest detail of the historical setting (*The King of the Two Sicilies* by Kuśniewicz, *Annihilation* by Szewc), some of them are based on religious literary sources, following, contradicting or complementing them (novels by Dobraczyński, Kossak, Maliński, Panas), some are parables about human nature in the historical setting of the Mediterranean (*The Island: Three Tales* by Herling-Grudziński), whereas others explore personal histories

[66] For more information on this translation see Section 3.2. in Chapter Three (p. 195).
[67] http://www.britannica.com/art/historical-novel.

situated closer or further in time before the Second World War (*Bohin Manor* by Konwicki, *The Forester* by Kuncewiczowa, *At the Border* and *The Hard Life of Jura Odcesty* by Łysek, *The Inn* by Stryjkowski, *Three Generations* by Wańkowicz). In the last-mentioned group the narratives range from poetic recreations of a family's past (*The Forester*, *Three Generations*) to speculative fantasies (*Bohin Manor*).

In the first two decades after the war, historical novels translated into English were penned mainly by Catholic writers such as Zofia Kossak or Jan Dobraczyński, who used a biblical and historical setting in order to explore human nature and draw parallels between the choices made in different moments of history by individuals as well as by whole communities.[68] The earliest historical novel published in English translation after the Second World War was Zofia Kossak's *Suknia Dejaniry* (1948; *The Meek Shall Inherit*, 1948),[69] whose English version appeared in Roy Publishers. Its Polish original was brought out by "Pallottinum" in Poznań, although at the moment of its publication the author was already an exile in Cornwall. From 1951 until 1957 none of Kossak's books could be published in Poland and the already existing ones were withdrawn from libraries and book shops (Żmigrodzki 2002: 21). Encouraged by the political changes after the October Thaw, the writer came back to Poland in 1957. Her novels could appear again, although in a censored form.

In the 1950s, four historical novels were brought out in English rendition.[70] Zofia Kossak's English version of *Przymierze* (1952; *The Covenant*, 1951) appeared in book form earlier than the Polish one. *The Covenant* was published by Hutchinson and by Wingate, while *Przymierze* came out in "Veritas," a Polish Catholic publisher in London. The remaining novels which appeared in this decade were *Listy Nikodema* (1952; *The Letters of Nicodemus*, 1958) and *Święty miecz* (1949; *The Sacred Sword*, 1959) by Jan Dobraczyński, as well as Maria Kuncewiczowa's *Leśnik* (1952; *The Forester*, 1954), published by the Literary Institute in the Polish version and by Hutchinson and Roy in English translation. The last-mentioned novel is a fictionalised account of the life of Kuncewicz's father's family, taking place around the time of the Polish uprising against Russia in 1863.

The only book appearing in English translation in the 1960s which may be counted among historical narratives is *The Island: Three Tales* (1967) by Gustaw Herling-

[68] Apart from novels set in biblical times, Kossak and Dobraczyński wrote about the nazi occupation of Poland. Both authors were engaged in saving Jews during the war, for which they received the title of the Righteous Among the Nations. However, none of their wartime novels has been rendered into English.
[69] The novel was reprinted a year later by Hutchinson as *The Gift of Nessus* (1949).
[70] See Appendix 5 (p. 341) and Chart 4 (p. 362).

Grudziński.[71] Although two of the three stories contained in the collection, "The Island" and "The Tower," are partially set in modern times: the 1930s and 1945, both the present-day setting and the historical tales serve more as a means for introducing the timeless questions about human nature, especially when exposed to extreme situations. So does the last of the stories, "The Second Coming." Set around the last days of Pope Urban IV's reign, it concerns the legend about the transubstantiation and the following desecration of the host. As a result, Jews and heretics accused of profaning the Holy Host are burned, hanged or beheaded. Notwithstanding possible parallels between this story and Jerzy Andrzejewski's *The Inquisitors* (1960) or *The Gates of Paradise* (1962), here the motif of the masses blindly following a few manipulative leaders seems to have a different source. What underlies all three tales is the question about different reactions to the wartime fate of the Jewish people, as well as the awareness that humiliation and suffering has never been limited only to Jews, who are taken rather as an example of recurring victims of mass human folly.[72] The Carthusians from "The Island" remind us of the stance taken by Pope Pius XII and Vatican officials towards the Holocaust when, during the time of the plague, they turn their back on the local people living outside the monastery. "The Tower," and especially the wartime story of a teacher from Turin, shows that indeed "We know as much about ourselves as has been checked,"[73] that declarations we make during the time of peace might prove hollow in the time of war and that in the face of imminent death even a life-weary man may still cling to it at all cost.

Two renditions which appeared in the 1970s were done from Polish source texts dating to 1966: *Austeria* (1966; *The Inn*, 1971) by Julian Stryjkowski and *Przy granicy* (1966; *At the Border*, 1977) by Paweł Łysek, who emigrated in 1949 to the United States. *The Inn* portrayed the opening days of the First World War in the micro scale of a Jewish inn, or *austeria*, in the Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia. Łysek's novel, in turn, documented the

[71] The first edition of *The Island* gives special attention to Herling's authorship of the anti-communist *World Apart* (1951). In 1965, the CIA paid Herling-Grudziński's travel expenses to the 33rd World Congress of PEN International in Bled, Yugoslavia, in which he took part next to such writers and publishers as Heinrich Böll, Helmut Jaesrich, François Bondy, Ignazio Silone and Stephen Spender, to name only some of them. The aim was to ensure a sufficient representation of the CIA-controlled Congress for Cultural Freedom camp. As a result, Arthur Miller won with Miguel Asturias in the elections for the International PEN's President (Stonor Saunders 2013: 306-308; Minow 2006: 32'45"-33'22").

[72] According to Joanna Tokarska-Bakir: "The Jewish origin of Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, one of the greatest modern Polish writers, has remained a taboo in Poland for years. The Jewish thread was never significantly thematised in his work" (2014: 739). Although this statement is in general true, it seems that "The Second Coming" draws on the 1946 Kielce pogrom. The news about the pogrom must have touched the writer all the deeper as Kielce was his hometown and the place of his birth.

[73] My translation. Original: "Tyle wiemy o sobie, ile nas sprawdzono," a verse from Wisława Szymborska's poem "Minuta ciszy po Ludwice Wawrzyńskiej" from the collection *Wołanie do Yeti* (Calling Out to Yeti) (1957: 28).

traditional way of life of the mountain folk from Beskidy. Interestingly, both language versions of the latter book were brought out by Polish publishers in London. *Przy granicy* appeared in "Veritas," while its English rendition, *At the Border*, was published by Poets and Painters' Press, founded by Czesław and Krystyna Bednarczyk.

Another book to appear in the 1970s was Melchior Wańkowicz's autobiographical *Three Generations* (1973). The publication of the Polish version of the book, *Tworzywo* (1954), dates back to the writer's stay in the United States, since after the Second World War Wańkowicz initially chose emigration in London and then, in 1949, he went to America. Worth noticing is the fact that the first edition of *Tworzywo* was brought out by Marian Kister's Roy with whom Wańkowicz established the pre-war Polish Rój. The writer left America for Poland in 1958, the year of his former publishing partner's death.

Henryk Panas's *Według Judasza: apokryf* (1973; *The Gospel According to Judas*, 1977), retelling the story of Jesus through the eyes of a hundred-year-old Judas Iscariot, was one more historical novel by a contemporary Polish writer published in English translation in the decade concerned. The book traced "the development of Jesus' teachings as He becomes slowly agonizingly transformed from a gentle village preacher and prophet of love into a semi-political figure" (in: Panas 1977: front cover flap).

1980 saw the publication of two English-language renditions of Polish historical novels: *Twarde żywobycie Jury Odcesty* (1970; *The Hard Life of Jura Odcesty*, 1980) by Paweł Łysek, a recreation of his father's life in a pre-war Silesian village and *Król Obojga Sycylii* (1970; *The King of the Two Sicilies*, 1980) by Andrzej Kuśniewicz, an almost cinematic rendition of the last days of the Austro-Hungarian empire.[74] Two more books of historical fiction translated in the 1980s, already after martial law had been introduced in Poland, represented the Catholic trend: *Świadkowie Jezusa* (1975; *Witnesses to Jesus: The Stories of Five Who Knew Him*, 1982) by Mieczysław Maliński and *Spotkania jasnogórskie* (1979; *Meetings with the Madonna*, 1988) by Jan Dobraczyński. Interestingly, the latter book was brought out by the Polonia Publishing House, no doubt a propaganda move on the side of the Polish translation commissioners. Most probably it was planned as an answer to John Paul II's 1987 pastoral visit to the United States and Canada, targeting the Polish diaspora living in these countries. Just like the Polish version, the lavishly edited *Meetings with the Madonna*

[74] Although many bibliographical databases give details of another English translation of one of Kuśniewicz's Galician novels, *Lekcja martwego języka* (1977), together with the English title, the date of publication and the ISBN, the physical location of any copy of *Lessons in a Dead Language* (1984) is unavailable. I decided to exclude the alleged translation from the analysis because its publication was most probably cancelled by Sinclair Browne, given as the publisher of the English version of the book.

contained a reproduction of a letter from the Primate of Poland, Stefan Wyszyński, whose contents suggested not only good relations between the church official and the author of the book, but also a positive rapport between the church and the state in the People's Republic of Poland.

In the 1990s two historical narratives from the 1945-1989 repertoire were rendered into English: *Bohiń* (1987; *Bohin Manor*, 1990) by Tadeusz Konwicki and *Zagłada* (1987; *Annihilation*, 1993) by Piotr Szewc.[75] In the first book, Konwicki imagines a love affair between his grandmother Helena Konwicka and a young Jew, Eliasz. His novel is filled with a presentiment of the oncoming era of two totalitarianisms: nazism and communism. Szewc's *Annihilation* is a collection of verbal photographs or, as Julian Stryjkowski had it "a book without a plot" (Stryjkowski 1993: 5), showing a day in the life of a Polish-Jewish town just before the outbreak of the Second World War.

Between 1994 and 2015 one more historical narrative from the old repertoire was translated into English. It was Jan Dobraczyński's Catholic novel *Cień ojca* (1977; *The Shadow of the Father*, 2011), brought out by Lighthouse Christian Publishing in the United States.

2.1.5. Science-Fiction and Fantasy

Until 1964 no Polish science-fiction or fantasy books appeared in English translation,[76] although the first short stories and novellas by Stanisław Lem were published in Polish-language journals as early as in 1946, followed by his first science-fiction novels, *Astronauci* (1951; Astronauts) and *Obłok Magellana* (1955; The Magellanic Cloud). The reason for this lack of initial interest in Lem's writings on the part of Anglophone publishers may have been the writer's sympathy with communism and the adoption of the socialist realism convention in his writings brought out before 1956. However, even though Lem's collection of short stories, *Inwazja z Aldebarana* (1959; The Invasion from Aldebaran), was free from communist propaganda, as was *Solaris* (1961), both reviewed and advertised for translation in the *Bulletin of New Books and Plays* in August 1959 and October 1961 respectively, they did not draw the attention of Anglo-American translation commissioners. Interestingly, the first Polish science-fiction novel to be translated into English was *Wyczerpać morze* (1961; *To Drain the Sea*, 1964) by the Catholic writer Jan Dobraczyński. *To Drain the Sea* provides a futuristic vision of the world after a nuclear explosion in which most of Europe is destroyed

[75] The English translation is based on the revised 1993 edition of *Zagłada*. See Appendix 4 (p. 305).
[76] See Appendix 5 (p. 341) and Chart 5 (p. 363).

with only three Vatican cardinals surviving the disaster. The survivors go to Africa where they want to start a new church.

In contrast to the previous decades, the 1970s indisputably belonged to the science-fiction genre. As many as ten sci-fi books, novels and short-story collections, were published then, all of them written by Stanisław Lem.[77] The immense popularity of science fiction, especially during the Cold War, can be explained by the fact that it may be read on several planes, political dimension included, thus catering for various tastes: from the most popular, looking mostly for sensation and conspiracy theories, to more refined ones, interested in the philosophical message of the works, even if they are guised as science-fiction grotesques or mysteries. Lem no doubt elevated this kind of writing to a higher level than the classical wars of the worlds, where evil takes the banal shape of alien monsters.

Stanisław Lem's career in English rendition started with indirect translations from French and German, at least in the case of individual books.[78] His first novel to appear in English was *Solaris* (1970), translated from the French version at the very beginning of the "Lem decade." The book was received with interest but it was only after its loose film adaptation by Andrei Tarkovsky (1972) that Lem's success in English translation took off. In 1973, *The Invincible* was published, rendered from the German version. Translations which followed were done directly from the Polish. In the 1970s these included: *Memoirs Found in a Bathtub* (1973), *The Cyberiad* (1974), *The Futurological Congress: From the Memoirs of Ijon Tichy* (1974), *The Investigation* (1974), *The Star Diaries* (1976), *Mortal Engines* (1977), *The Chain of Chance* (1978) and *Tales of Pirx the Pilot* (1979).

In the 1980s, Lem's winning streak continued and his works were constantly reprinted and offered in new editions, also as collections of works. Six new novels and short-story collections were then brought out in English: *Return from the Stars* (1980), *Memoirs of a Space Traveler: Further Reminiscences of Ijon Tichy* (1982), *More Tales of Pirx the Pilot* (1982), *His Master's Voice* (1983), *Fiasco* (1987) and *Eden* (1989). Additionally, the English edition of Lem's *Wielkość urojona* (1973; *Imaginary Magnitude*, 1984), itself a collection of literary sketches in the form of introductions and reviews of non-existent books, contained an extra translation of *Golem XIV*, classified as a science-fiction novel.

[77] One of the most renowned American science-fiction authors, greatly appreciated by Lem, Philip K. Dick, fell victim to the Red Scare conspiracy paranoia and claimed that Stanisław Lem did not exist, but was a construct and pen name of a collective of erudite communist writers. Dick deemed it impossible for one author to produce such a prolific, scientifically-informed, witty and varied output as Lem's. Lem still remains one of the most frequently published Polish authors in English translation, preceded only by Henryk Sienkiewicz.

[78] In anthologies, i.e. Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind* (1962), Darko Suvin's *Other Worlds, Other Seas: Science-Fiction Stories from Socialist Countries* (1970) and Franz Rottensteiner's *View from Another Shore: European Science Fiction* (1973), Lem's stories were rendered directly from the Polish.

Two books which fall into the category studied in this section were published in the 1990s: *Peace on Earth* (1992) by Stanisław Lem and *Puppets of Master Damian* (1993) by Edwin Jędrkiewicz. The latter novel was a variation on the Jewish legend about Golem.

Although since 1993 no English renditions of previously untranslated novels or short-story collections from the science-fiction or fantasy genre were published, Anglophone readers were delighted to be given the first direct translations of Lem's *Solaris* (2011) and *The Invincible* (2014). These new renditions, both done by Bill Johnston, are available only in digital form, as the paper edition has been blocked by the holders of global translation rights to all traditionally published books.

2.1.6. Children's Stories

In contrast to numerous translations of children's stories done from English and published in Poland between 1945 and 1989, there are very few English renditions of Polish stories for children from the period concerned brought out by Anglo-American publishing houses.[79] Out of the total eighteen books for very young readers rendered into English between 1945 and 1989 only five appeared in foreign presses, one was co-published by a British and Polish publisher and the remaining twelve translations were brought out in Poland. The situation of Polish teenage fiction from that time looks even worse, as no Polish-English translations of post-war prose works for this readership exist at all. As Bogumiła Staniów writes:

> After 1945 translations of Polish literature addressed to young readers expanded both territorially and linguistically in comparison to the pre-WWII period. Unfortunately, the political situation and the ideologisation of literature in post-war Poland made natural contacts with other countries impossible; the domestic book market was governed by irrational rules too. […] Information on good books for young readers was very limited; there was no periodical in Poland at the time devoted exclusively to books for children, a periodical that would professionally analyse this branch of literature and review new books. […] The repertoire of foreign publishers was dominated by contemporary literature, i.e. books first published after 1945. […] [However, o]lder classics appeared more frequently in the repertoire of capitalist countries. (2006a: 337-338)

Indeed, the very first English translations of contemporary Polish literature for children did not appear until the 1960s, accompanied with illustrations from the original editions, made by Polish artists. The graphic attraction of the books was an extra driving force

[79] See Appendix 5 (p. 341) and Chart 6 (p. 364).

behind their renditions. When reminiscing about encounters with writers inside the Soviet bloc, Margaret Atwood wrote:

> At polite official occasions there was what was said, and then there was what was not said, but was supposed to be understood. "Why do you have so many beautifully illustrated children's picture books in Poland?" I asked another writer, at a book fair. "Think about it," she replied. (2007)

On the one hand this anecdote may illustrate the anti-communist obsession of the Polish writer conversing with Atwood, whereas on the other, the lavishly illustrated books for children presented at international book fairs may indeed have been conceived as an eye-catcher, whose objective was to draw attention away from the political concerns of adult literature. Nevertheless, not many contemporary children's picture books were sold onto the Anglo-American market between 1945 and 1989.

Four illustrated books for children were published in English translation in the 1960s: *Rudzia* (1958; *Squirrel Redcoat*, 1961) by Jadwiga Wernerowa, *Miś na huśtawce* (1960; *Teddy and the Seesaw*, 1963) by Helena Bechlerowa, *Moje gospodarstwo* (1961; *Make Me a Farm*, 1963) by Krystyna Pokorska and *Wielkie prace małej pszczoły* (1950; *The World of the Bee*, 1964) by Cecylia Lewandowska. Only *Rudzia*'s translator, Maria Paczyńska, was named, the remaining stories being rendered anonymously. The first three booklets were originally brought out in Polish by the Warsaw-based publishing house Nasza Księgarnia, which could boast first-class editing and was apparently successful in promoting their publications for children abroad. Lewandowska's *The World of the Bee* had a different character than the other books. Its aim was to introduce children to the fascinating world of bees by a series of educational literary sketches presented in a scientifically informed but attractive and approachable way. Interestingly enough, although not the publisher of the original Polish edition, Nasza Księgarnia was a co-publisher of the English version of the book together with the British Heinemann.

Altogether three children's books came out in English in the 1970s: *Wróbel czarodziej* (1956; *A Sparrow's Magic*, 1970) by Maria Niklewiczowa, *Chłopiec z wieżowca* (1977; *The Boy from the Skyscraper*, 1977) by Magda Leja and *Szare uszko* (1963; *The Grey Ear*, 1979) by Mieczysław Piotrowski. The stories by Leja and Piotrowski were brought out in both language versions by the Polish publisher KAW.[80]

[80] Czytelnik was the first publisher of the Polish-language edition of *Szare uszko* (1963; *The Grey Ear*, 1979), but KAW reprinted the book twice (in 1975 and 1978) and brought out its English translation in 1979.

The 1980s constitute a phenomenon in the field of Polish-English translation of children's books. As many as ten narratives were brought out in English then, all of them but one published by Wydawnictwo Polonia in Warsaw.[81] All the nine books came out in bilingual, Polish-English editions, the first being Jerzy Dąbrowski's *Leśne harce* / *Woodland Frolics* (1987), a children's story in verse. The book was rendered into English by Tomasz Wyżyński, who was also the translator of the song contained in Barbara Lipska's *Poniedziałek na wyspie* / *Monday on the Island* (1987), the first of the seven booklets of the series entitled *A Week of Adventures in Africa*. The series was based on the scripts for the animated film series of the same title, co-authored by Lipska. The remaining books in the series, published by 1989, comprised: *Na ratunek plantacji* / *Saving the Plantation* (1988), *Wycieczka na pustynię* / *An Excursion to the Desert* (1989) and *Powrót balonem* / *Returning by Balloon* (1989), all of them rendered into English by Emma Harris. Harris was also the translator of another series of booklets, *The Secrets of Osier Bay*, which originated in the same way as *A Week of Adventures in Africa*, since it was first broadcast on TV as an animated film series. The stories were penned by one of the two original film script writers, Jerzy Maciej Siatkiewicz. Again five parts of the whole series appeared before 1990: *Zasiedliny* / *Settling In* (1987), *Intruz* / *The Intruder* (1989), *Szafir* / *Sapphire* (1989) and *Powódź* / *The Flood* (1989). The only translation in the studied group which was not published in Poland was Sławomir Wolski's *Tiger Cat* (1988), an indirect rendition of the Polish text illustrated by Józef Wilkoń.

Until 2015 only one more rendition from the 1945-1989 literary repertoire for children was published. It was the bilingual edition of Adam Bahdaj's *Pilot i ja* / *The Pilot and Me* (1997), brought out by the Polish publisher Literatura.

2.1.7. Other Subjects

Novels and short-story collections in this group are relatively numerous,[82] since they constitute cases which did not fall into the previously distinguished thematic categories, but were too few to form a consistent subject group in their own right.

One such specific work was *Bayamus* (1949) by Stefan Themerson, in which the writer described the adventures of a three-legged superhuman mutant named Bayamus and introduced the theory of semantic poetry. In the Polish context, *Bayamus* is treated as a so-

[81] Wydawnictwo Polonia, known by its English name as Polonia Publishers, should not be confused with the Polonia Publishing House which ceased to exist as an independent publisher in 1967.
[82] See Appendix 5 (p. 341) and Chart 7 (p. 365).

called *długie opowiadanie* (a long story), shorter than a novel but longer than a short story. It was one of the few texts in the studied material penned originally in Polish and subsequently recreated in English by its author. Another work which followed the same linguistic sequence was *Professor Mmaa's Lecture* (1953), also by Themerson, rendered by the author into English from a Polish manuscript written during the Second World War. *Professor Mmaa's Lecture* was brought out by Gaberbocchus Press, a publishing house founded by the writer in 1948 together with Franciszka Themerson, a graphic and visual artist. Their common "aim was to produce 'best lookers' rather than 'best sellers'."[83]

In the 1960s another idiosyncratic novel originally written in Polish and then translated by Stefan Themerson appeared in Gaberbocchus Press. It was *Cardinal Pölätüo* (1961), allegedly the last work by Themerson not to have been written directly in English (Wadley).[84] *Cardinal Pölätüo* was a risky combination of philosophy, linguistics and a general fictional plot. In the same decade two post-war novels by Witold Gombrowicz were published in indirect English rendition: *Pornografia* (1960; *Pornografia*, 1966) and *Kosmos* (1965; *Cosmos*, 1967). *Pornografia* was translated from the French, while *Cosmos* from the French and German. The first direct translations of these works were given by Danuta Borchardt in 2009 and 2005 respectively. Although the plot of *Pornografia* is set against the backdrop of the Second World War, it only serves as a pretext for deconstructing national myths, since both novels are focused on exploring the darker side of human nature, our perception of the world and the workings of the mind, through the grotesque and exaggeration. Two other novels translated into English in the 1960s included Włodzimierz Odojewski's *Miejsca nawiedzone* (1959; *The Dying Day*, 1964), a monologue of a terminally ill writer, and Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Idzie skacząc po górach* (1963; *He Cometh Leaping upon the Mountains*, 1965, British title / *A Sitter for a Satyr*, American title). Ostensibly, the novel was a satirical story about the life of a contemporary artist in the West. In his *History of Polish Literature*, Miłosz wrote:

> Internationally recognised, translated into foreign languages, Andrzejewski traveled to Western Europe, and after a long stay in Paris, he left his inhibitions still further behind, in the novel *He Cometh Leaping upon the Mountains* (*Idzie skacząc po górach* (1963; its American version is entitled *A Sitter for a Satyr*). A mixture of buffoonery and melodrama, this is a display of the author's bravado in parodying the style of Western best sellers and in jousting with the

[83] See http://www.themersonarchive.com/page4med.htm.
[84] The introductory note contained in the Polish edition of the book informs that only one third of it was first written in Polish (Themerson 1971: front cover flap).

> artistic and intellectual milieu. The central figure, an old French painter, who spends most of his time in Provence and whose genius is revived, according to gossip, by affairs with young girls, resembles Picasso. (1983: 493)

Notwithstanding the titillating layer of the novel's plot, many readers in Poland treated the book in political terms. Describing the state of Polish literature, once again held more closely under the censor's control after the October Thaw finished for good, a writer from Poland, hidden behind the pseudonym Piotr Świderek, argued:

> After October he [Jerzy Andrzejewski] became a zealous revisionist, contemplated the political problem somewhat insincerely, and finally – after a long visit to Paris – wrote *He Walks Jumping from Mountain to Mountain* [*Idzie skacząc po górach*]. In both the language and style the book shows masterly comprehension of the literary task, and ranks with the best of postwar Polish prose. It deals with the life history of a great painter (in whom it is not difficult to recognize a slightly pastiched Picasso), the theme being the role of the artist in a free and democratic society. Andrzejewski seems to be fascinated by the things permitted an artist in a non-totalitarian country, which of course implies a comparison with the things an artist is not allowed to do in a communist society. The dictators of Polish culture saw in Andrzejewski's book various liberal-anarchistic tendencies, homosexuality, pornography and despair. However, a well-organized campaign in favor of the book convinced them that Andrzejewski was satirizing contemporary capitalist art – and the book was published. The first printing sold out in a few days. (1966: 34)

Whether the political level of the novel was legible to the Anglophone reader is doubtful, but its sensuality must have nevertheless appealed to the popular readership.

Six books which do not belong to any of the main thematic groups were published in English translation in the 1970s, among them three novels, one collection of short stories and two collections of quasi-biblical tales by Leszek Kołakowski. The two collections by Kołakowski were translations of the same two Polish source texts: *Klucz niebieski albo Opowieści budujące z historii świętej zebrane ku pouczeniu i przestrodze* (1964) and *Rozmowy z diabłem* (1965). However, while the American edition, *The Key to Heaven: Edifying Tales from Holy Scripture to Serve as Teaching and Warning* (1972), contained an indirect translation of *Klucz niebieski…*, done from the German, the British edition, entitled *The Devil and Scripture* (1973), featured a direct rendition of the book, performed by Nicholas Bethell. On the other hand, both editions featured a direct translation of *Rozmowy z diabłem*, done by Celina Wieniewska.

The remaining four books published in English in the 1970s were: *Tristan* (1974) by Maria Kuncewiczowa, recreated in English by the author after the Polish *Tristan 1946* (1967),

a transposition of the Arthurian legend into the period following the Second World War, set in Cornwall and on Long Island; Eugeniusz Żytomirski's erotic novel *Gothic Avenue* (1975) translated into English from an unpublished Polish manuscript and brought out in Canada; *Zwierzoczłekoupiór* (1969; *The Anthropos-Spectre-Beast*, 1977) by Tadeusz Konwicki and *Szechterezada* (1975; *Bridge on Ice*, 1977) by Szymon Szechter. The last book was brought out by Kontra, an independent publishing house established in 1970 in London by Szymon Szechter and Nina Karsov, two political exiles from Poland. Konwicki's book, *The Anthropos-Spectre-Beast*, was very different from his earlier novel, *A Dreambook for Our Time*, which appeared in English in 1969. David John Welsh reviewed it in the following way:

> *Zwierzoczłekoupiór* (The Animalmanspecter) is even more comic and weird than his previous work [*Wniebowstąpienie* (1967)].[85] Ostensibly written for children (the decorations are charming) it is not meant for "good children," as they will not benefit from it (says Konwicki). The novel exists on at least three levels: the narrative itself which can be related to *Winnie-the-Pooh* and *Alice in Wonderland*; the "real world," bearing in mind always that reality is something peculiarly ambiguous in Konwicki's fiction; and the narrator's dream world. (1970a: 501-502)

The 1980s indisputably belonged to Czesław Miłosz after he received the Nobel Prize for Literature at the very beginning of the decade. Not only his poetry, but also his prose works were translated *en masse*. Among these was the poetic and to some extent autobiographical *Dolina Issy* (1955; *The Issa Valley*, 1981). Originally published in Polish by the Literary Institute, the novel was one of the few writings by Miłosz to appear officially in Poland before 1989. Three other Polish books published in English in the 1980s were *Kubuś* (1985; *Kubuś: My Friend the Cat*, 1988), a series of poetic narratives written and published by Czesław Bednarczyk in his Poets and Painters' Press, *Dziennik pisany na wyspie: opowiadania* (1987; *Island Diary: Short Stories*, 1989) by Halina Bonikowska and Leszek

[85] Welsh wrote: "His [Konwicki's] ill-fated Ascension [*Wniebowstąpienie*], withdrawn under mysterious circumstances after a first printing of 20,000 copies had been sold out, supposedly on Gomułka's personal orders, remains suspended in the limbo of Polish 'non-novels.' Unlike certain contemporaries in the Soviet Union, Konwicki has not yet found a publisher in the West ready to risk printing a translation of his weirdly comic and bleak novel" (1970a: 501). The fact that the political potential of Konwicki's *Wniebowstąpienie* (1967; Ascension) was not used by the Anglo-American translation commissioners in the United States or United Kingdom might look quite puzzling. This, however, may be connected with the publication of the Katzenbach Committee Report at the time concerned (see Chapter One, pp. 78-79). The translation of *A Dreambook for Our Time* (1969) could have been commissioned before the report was published, while Jerzy Andrzejewski's *The Appeal* (1971) was co-published with the British press, Weidenfeld and Nicolson. Since nothing changed in the field of international covert operations, it may explain the appearance of the renditions of *Wniebowstąpienie* in French (*L'ascension*, 1971), German (*Auf der Spitze des Kulturpalastes: Roman*, 1973) and Argentinian (*La ascensión*, 1973). Later the book was also rendered into Swedish (*Himmelsfärden*, 1979).

Kołakowski's *13 bajek z królestwa Lailonii dla dużych i małych* (1963; *Tales from the Kingdom of Lailonia and The Key to Heaven*, 1989). In the latter book, only *Tales from the Kingdom of Lailonia* were a new translation since the tales from the collection *The Key to Heaven* in an indirect rendition from German had been previously published in *The Key to Heaven: Edifying Tales from Holy Scripture to Serve as Teaching and Warning* (1972).

Altogether six translated novels fall into the "other subjects" category in the 1990s: *Drugie zabicie psa* (1965; *Killing the Second Dog*, 1990) and *Wszyscy byli odwróceni* (1964; *All Backs Were Turned*, 1991) by Marek Hłasko, deriving from the writer's Israeli period, *Pałac* (1970; *The Palace*, 1991) by Wiesław Myśliwski, a philosophical narrative about the pre-war world on the verge of collapse, but above all about human nature, Witold Gombrowicz's multi-layered *Trans-Atlantyk* (1953; *Trans-Atlantyk*, 1994), *Złowić cień* (1976; *The Shadow Catcher*, 1997) by Andrzej Szczypiorski, a poignant novel about the coming of age of a fifteen-year-old boy whose adolescent dreams are about to be shattered by the approaching war, and *Rudolf* (1980; *Rudolf*, 1996) by Marian Pankowski, scandalous not only because of its homosexual content, but also because of its iconoclastic attitude to Polish national myths in an altogether different way than in Gombrowicz's *Trans-Atlantyk*. Symbolically, the English translation of Pankowski's novel was published in the Writings from an Unbound Europe series, indeed epitomising a release from ideological and social shackles and foreshadowing the emergence of contemporary Polish writers, free from the political slant of the works translated until then.

The first book to be published in English translation between 2000 and 2009 from the old literary repertoire was *Znak szczególny* (1970; *A Distinguishing Mark*, 2004), an autobiographical novel by the renowned Polish composer Grażyna Bacewicz. Bacewicz's book was followed by Danuta Mostwin's *Testaments: Two Novellas of Emigration and Exile* (2005), one of which first came out before 1989, and by Danuta Borchardt's retranslation of Witold Gombrowicz's *Cosmos* (2005). In 2006 two books appeared: Halina Poświatowska's autobiographical *Story for a Friend* (2006) and Jerzy Ficowski's oniric *Waiting for the Dog to Sleep* (2006). Three years later a selection of works by Andrzej Bursa, *Killing Auntie and Other Work* (2009), was translated into English and finally, Danuta Borchardt's first direct Polish-English rendition of Witold Gombrowicz's *Pornografia* appeared in 2009, for which she received the Book Institute's Found in Translation Award. Symptomatically, apart from Borchardt, all the translators of the above-mentioned works were beginners in the trade and the fruit of their efforts was published mostly in independent publishing houses or university presses.

In 2014 there appeared yet another retranslation of one of Gombrowicz's novels. This time Danuta Borchardt retranslated his *Trans-Atlantyk*, which previously appeared in another direct translation by Carolyn French and Nina Karsov.

2.1.8. Concluding Remarks

Accumulated decade by decade, the total distribution of English translations of Polish-language novels and short stories from the 1945-1989 period, published as individual books, approximates the shape of a bell curve, with the exception of the 1980s decade.[86] The outstanding number of renditions in the 1980s was the outcome of three factors: the political situation in Poland, the continuing popularity of Stanisław Lem's science-fiction novels and the publishing policy of Wydawnictwo Polonia (Polonia Publishers), which brought out as many as nine bilingual books for children in that period. The drop noticeable in the 1970s, clearly connected with translations of books first published abroad, might have been the aftermath of the Katzenbach Committee Report from 1967.[87]

The otherwise normal distribution of the numerical data, especially when it concerns books first published officially in Poland, is typical of the growing and then, at the other extreme, diminishing interest in the analysed literary repertoire. After the 1989 caesura, there was no rationale in going back to old political novels, while in the case of apolitical narratives the quantitative distribution of the material studied here would have looked very much the same even if communism had not come to an end in Poland, since the publishing world prefers to focus on new titles.[88]

The thematic distribution of books presented in this chapter reveals that until 1989 most of the translated novels and short stories were devoted to the topic of the Second World War (20.5), as well as to politics in post-war Poland (20).[89] This is also true for books whose source texts were first published abroad or in *samizdat*. However, in the case of the two following most popular categories: science-fiction or fantasy narratives (17.5) and stories for children (17), their original texts first appeared officially in Poland. Additionally, in most cases, translations of children's books were also brought out by Polish publishers. While the subject of everyday life in Poland (6.5) proved to be the least favoured, especially if not critical of communism, until 1989, historical novels (14) enjoyed great popularity, mainly due

[86] See Appendix 5 (p. 341) and Chart 8 (p. 366).
[87] See Chapter One (pp. 78-79).
[88] When published, Wojciech Żukrowski's *Kamienne tablice* (1966; Stone Tablets) in Stephanie Kraft's English rendition will be a notable exception to these two rules. The publication is planned for May 2016 by Paul Dry Books. See http://www.pauldrybooks.com/products/stone-tablets.
[89] See Appendix 5 (p. 341) and Chart 9 (p. 367).

to Catholic writers, such as Jan Dobraczyński (4), Zofia Kossak (2) and Mieczysław Maliński (1).[90] As Eric Bennett writes:

> Ralph Ellison felt strongly the pressure of the question: "How does one in the novel (the novel which is a work of art and not a disguised piece of sociology) persuade the American reader to identify that which is basic in man beyond all differences of class, race, wealth, or formal education?" In his essays from the 1930s, so influential during this period [post-war decades], Eliot outlined a religious solution to such concerns. He cast Christianity as a total system of values free from the dangers of totalitarianism. (2015: 51)

However mistaken the conviction might be that any religion is "free from the dangers of totalitarianism," in the years of the Cold War, the Catholic Church in Poland was perceived by the USA as a crucial ally in the fight against communism.[91] For this reason, the Free Europe Committee wanted to promote the Congress of Free Polish Culture, planned for September 1956, by the slogan saying that "culture cannot exist without God," with which Jerzy Giedroyc strongly disagreed.[92]

After 1989, translations of narratives about the war continued (20.5+5.5), mainly in the context of the Holocaust, while renditions of novels about Polish politics of the period 1945–1989 (20+1) ended abruptly after the fall of communism.[93] The only exception was *A Mass for Arras* (1993) by Andrzej Szczypiorski, a metaphorical depiction of anti-Semitic persecutions in Poland in the second half of the 1960s. As a result, science-fiction and fantasy books (17.5+4), authored almost single-handedly by Stanisław Lem, minimally precede the total number of renditions of political narratives published in English until 2015. Just as

[90] In 2005 Maliński was accused of collaboration with the Polish Security Service, informing on Stefan Wyszyński and Karol Wojtyła ("Maliński donosił…" 2007; Pięciak 2013: 27).

[91] Bob Woodward, the author of *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987* (1987), confirms the existence of "a minor secret channel through a Catholic Church organization in Poland to funnel CIA funds of $20,000 to $30,000 to benefit the Solidarity trade union" (375). After the election of Karol Wojtyła as Pope in 1978, there appeared numerous translations of writings by or devoted to him and to Stefan Wyszyński; among others: Karol Wojtyła, *Easter Vigil and Other Poems*, trans. by Jerzy Pietrkiewicz, London: Hutchinson, 1979, Karol Wojtyła, *The Jeweler's Shop: A Meditation on the Sacrament of Matrimony, Passing on Occasion into a Drama*, trans. by Boleslaw Taborski, New York: Random House, 1980, Karol Wojtyła, *Collected Poems*, trans. by Jerzy Pietrkiewicz, New York: Random House, 1982, Karol Wojtyła, *The Collected Plays and Writings on Theatre*, trans. by Boleslaw Taborski, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, Mieczysław Maliński, *Pope John Paul II: The Life of My Friend Karol Wojtyła*, trans. by P. S. Falla, London: Burns and Oates, 1979, Stefan Wyszyński, *A Freedom Within: The Prison Notes of Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński*, trans. by Barbara Krzywicka-Herburt and Walter J. Ziemba, San Diego: HBJ, 1983, Andrzej Micewski, *Cardinal Wyszyński: A Biography*, trans. by William R. Brand and Katarzyna Mroczkowska-Brand, San Diego: HBJ, 1984. Even Lech Wałęsa's "autobiography" (*A Way of Hope*, anon. trans. from the French, New York: Holt, 1987), in reality ghost-written by Andrzej Drzycimski and Adam Kinaszewski, was penned in a cloister cell, where the authors hid from the Security Service (Górniak 2010).

[92] See Attachments 7 (pp. 380-383) and 13 (pp. 390-391). In the end, the Congress did not take place (Giedroyc and Miłosz 2008: 259-260; Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 147).

[93] See Appendix 5 (p. 341) and Chart 10 (p. 368).

before 1990, children's stories took the fourth place in the overall ranking of translations, even if only one more book was rendered into English after 1989 (17+1). Three more historical novels from the period concerned (14+3) appeared in English translation after 1989 and the number of books about everyday life in post-war Poland translated into English almost doubled (6.5+5.5). Nevertheless, the latter thematic group still ranked last in terms of quantity.

In general, out of the six thematic categories differentiated for the purposes of this work, the subject of war, however different in perspective and individual treatment of the topic, seems to have been the common denominator, even during the Cold War era, for all the parties included in the translation and publishing process in both literary polysystems, the Polish and the Anglo-American. In his Introduction to *A Dreambook for Our Time* by Tadeusz Konwicki, Leszek Kołakowski observed:

> It is not surprising that the horrors of a war that destroyed one fifth of Poland's population have continued to fascinate Polish writers in the postwar decades. The German occupation of September 1939, the partisan war and its conspiratorial struggles, the German prisons and concentration camps, the ghettoes, the massacres, the fate of the Polish army in the west – these events and themes out of Polish history recur again and again in recent Polish literature. The physical and moral atrocities and the suffering and heroism of these years are reflected in the writings of Zofia Nałkowska, Jerzy Andrzejewski, Adolf Rudnicki, Tadeusz Borowski, Kazimierz Brandys, Jerzy Pytlakowski, Melchior Wańkowicz, Tadeusz Nowakowski, Jerzy Putrament, and Bohdan Czeszko. Other significant aspects of the war – the fate of Poles in eastern territories under the Soviet occupation, life in Soviet labor camps and prisons and in Siberian exile – were, of course, forbidden subjects in Communist Poland. Polish literature written in exile made up partly for this lacuna; among the works dealing with these themes, one of the most outstanding is Gustaw Herling-Grudziński's *The Other World*. (1976: vii-viii)

While a number of English translations of books about the Second World War were to a large extent independent of the fight for ideological supremacy between the East and the West, with the exception of those revealing Soviet crimes, narratives about politics in post-war Poland were certainly not. The fact that no new translations on this subject were done after 1989, apart from the above-mentioned book by Andrzej Szczypiorski, does not mean that the already translated works lost their appeal. On the contrary, most of the novels and short-story collections in this group proved to have a more universal value, applicable to any government misusing its power, even if their reprints are still advertised in the West as criticising or ridiculing communism only. In the post-1989 reality, new renditions of old

political novels became simply unnecessary. If more such novels were translated today, it would be for their literary and historical value.

Apart from Cold War politics, the interest in Jewish motifs in Polish literature and in Polish-Jewish relations was another factor which contributed to the selection of books which were to be translated into English. In fact, the Jewish theme and the world of big politics often intertwined. Employed for the first time in the publication of Adolf Rudnicki's *The Dead and the Living Sea* (1957), brought out by the Warsaw-based Polonia Publishing House, it was aimed at reminding the readership in Anglophone countries about German atrocities committed on Jews, Poles and other ethnic or national groups and thus it was expected to make the readers question the Anglo-American post-war alliance with the former enemies from the camp of Axis powers. In turn, after the anti-Semitic purges in Poland in the second half of the 1960s, the Jewish topic was used by English-language publishers in order to show how widespread anti-Semitism in the Polish People's Republic was, notwithstanding its declared democracy and egalitarianism. Such was the motivation behind the rendition of Henryk Grynberg's *Żydowska wojna* (1965; *Child of the Shadows*, 1969).[94] Although politically stimulated, these translations were accompanied by the genuine interest in Jewish culture and compassion for the victims of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism. Since the 1960s this concern gradually rose in significance, more and more frequently governing the choices made by translators and publishers. Even more importantly, it was the Jewish theme which was the main driving force behind the translations done after 1989 in almost all the subject categories distinguished for the purposes of this dissertation.[95]

The record-high number of translations of novels and short-story collections on the Jewish subject, discernible in the 1990s, should be connected with the beginning of the debate on Polish-Jewish relations, which was initiated in Poland in the mid-1980s. Before, as Madeline G. Levine writes: "For political reasons, the debate was carried on outside of Poland […]. The Jewish voice of accusation [against Polish anti-Semitism] was therefore the one

[94] Interestingly, Robert Looby's research on English language fiction in Polish translation drew him to the following conclusion: "The Party infamously used anti-Semitism as a weapon in 1968 but I have found little or no evidence of a policy, however fleeting, of promoting anti-Semitic English or American authors" (2015: 137). On the contrary, "[a]fter the war, the [Polish] censor supported the tendency to remove racist and anti-Semitic abuse from translated English and American literature" (2015: 136).

[95] It was precisely because of the Jewish motif overlapping with so many thematic groups discerned in this thesis that I decided to reject it as a basis for distinguishing a separate group in its own right. Moreover, for the sake of analogy, the distinction of the "Jewish theme" would immediately require the distinction of the non-Jewish Polish, Russian and German themes, which would be impractical, especially in the case of novels set during the Second World War. However, the data collected in Appendix 4 (p. 305) and the presentation of material provided in this section allows for further studies if need be.

most often heard, and thus the more convincing in the court of public opinion" (Levine 1992: 5). On the other hand, Polish participation in the debate

> has been marked by an extraordinary amount of personal and collective soul-searching, as well as by defensive denials and heated counter-accusations. Certainly, it has come as a shock to the Poles, whose self-image (like the Jews') is that of a martyr-nation, that in other people's eyes they bear the mark of Cain upon their foreheads. Only in the last few years has a genuine dialogue been initiated between Poles and Jews (scholars and theologians from both sides) on the issue of Polish-Jewish relations. (ibid.)

This and the fact that many American translators have a Jewish background must have influenced their choices of books for English translation. Stimulated by the need to explore the complex and not rarely painful relationship between Poles and Jews, they took part in the Polish-Jewish American debate by introducing into it, *via* translation, many valuable narratives written originally in Polish by Holocaust survivors, their traumatised descendants, as well as Poles concerned with the subject. Additionally, Piotr Kuhiwczak attributes the revival of interest in things Jewish after 1989 to the visual media. He writes:

> There is no doubt that Polish literature connected with the Holocaust that was translated, albeit in small doses, before 1989 has remained popular. As well as Joanna Olczak-Ronikier's memoir (2004), in recent years we have seen the publication of Roma Ligocka's memoir (2003), Hanna Krall's short stories (2006) and Bogdan Wojdowski's novel (1997). […] It may be the case that the publication and a subsequent filming of Władysław Szpilman's memoir *The Pianist* (1999) helped other authors in the same way that Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List* [1993] helped to revive the interest in the Holocaust literature in the United States. (2007: 157)

Unless focused on the Jewish theme, novels about everyday life in post-war Poland became the biggest loser of the Polish-English literary translation policies before, as well as after 1989. While books on post-war Polish politics were rendered into English, not rarely with the more or less direct financial support from the CIA, novels describing daily life in Polish towns, suburbs and the countryside could not count on such generosity. After the fall of communism, on the other hand, these narratives already constituted an old, and often outdated, literary repertoire, rarely exploited by commercial publishers. As a result, there exists a huge disparity with reference to this thematic genre between the Polish and the Anglo-American literary polysystems, in which some of the most popular or even canonical works by Polish writers are still absent in English-language translation.

Although it was foreign presses that brought out the largest number of English translations of Polish novels and short stories written between 1945 and 1989, émigré Polish publishers, as well as publishers from Poland, also had a hand in promoting Polish literature in English translation.[96]

2.2. Anthologies

2.2.1. Overview

Two anthologies containing English renditions of Polish short stories, some of them published in the original in and after 1945, were brought out shortly after the Second World War. Wanda Dynowska's *Polish Short Stories* (1946) comprised, among other texts, an anonymous translation of Herminia Naglerowa's "Chleb" ("Bread"), while *Polish Authors of Today and Yesterday* (1947), edited by Irena Morska, featured two short stories by Sydor Rey: "The General" and "Iwancio." Naglerowa's "Bread" reflected her wartime experiences in Kazakhstan, while the two stories by Rey were set in pre-war Kropiwniki, the mythical town of Rey's earlier writings. As the titles of the two anthologies indicate, they were devoted exclusively to Polish literature and both were edited by Poles.

The first anthology to appear in the 1950s, featuring short stories defined by the requirements of this study, was *Wieczna pamięć* (1955; *Lest We Forget*, 1955). Edited by Adolf Rudnicki and brought out by the Foreign Languages Publishing House Polonia in Warsaw, the publication commemorated the tenth anniversary of the end of the Second World War. Apart from the Polish and English editions, the German and Russian versions came out in the same year, followed by the French one in 1956. Until that year, English-language anthologies published abroad gave voice first and foremost to exiled Polish writers. Two such volumes, edited by Paul Tabori, came out in London in the 1950s on the initiative of the International PEN Club Centre for Writers in Exile: *The Pen in Exile: An Anthology of Exiled Writers* (1954) and *The Pen in Exile: A Second Anthology* (1956). After the 1956 October Thaw, commissioners of English translations of texts about politics in post-war Poland gained an invaluable weapon for fighting communism in the shape of critical writings coming from within the feared socio-political system. Among the anthologies published with the political agenda in mind in the second half of the 1950s, there were two which contained short stories: *The Broken Mirror: A Collection of Writings from Contemporary Poland* (1958), edited by Paweł Mayewski, and *Bitter Harvest: The Intellectual Revolt behind the Iron Curtain* (1959),

[96] See Appendix 6 (p. 345) and Chart 11 (p. 369).

edited by Edmund O. Stillman.[97] It was no accident that introductions to the two collections were written by Lionel Trilling and François Bondy respectively, both witting members of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, aware of the fact that the CCF was in reality a CIA operation (Stonor Saunders 2013: 332).

The Broken Mirror featured translations of stories, fragments of dramas, memoirs and essays, derived mainly from the Polish literary monthly *Twórczość* or from the cultural weekly *Nowa Kultura*.[98] In the introduction to this anthology, Lionel Trilling thus pointed to the cracks within communist integrity: "The writers whose work is brought together in this volume are all Poles. Most of them are young or youngish. All of them are, or have been, Communists, or in active sympathy with the Communist Party" (1958: 1). Short stories featured in this collection comprised "The New Philosophical School" by Tadeusz Różewicz and the revisionist "The Defense of Granada" by Kazimierz Brandys. Robert L. Belknap, Professor of Russian at Columbia University, wrote:

> Paweł Mayewski's collection of contemporary Polish writings records the operation of this life-giving adaptive tendency [to accept imported ideologies in Poland on Polish terms] when confronted with the Kremlin's monolithic orthodoxy. In a remarkable piece called "The Defense of Granada," Kazimierz Brandys expresses the longing to give life to genuine Marxist loyalties, and to bring those loyalties to life in others. (1958: 120)

Marek Hłasko, however, had an altogether different opinion of the piece by Brandys. In his autobiographical narrative, *Piękni dwudziestoletni* (1966; *Beautiful Twentysomethings*, 2013), Hłasko ridiculed the other writer's ideological conversion:

> At the end of 1955, Warsaw's great son, Kazimierz Brandys, wrote a short story called "Before He Is Forgotten." The subject was Czesław Miłosz, who'd betrayed Poland and stayed behind in the West. Kazimierz Brandys didn't

[97] Other anthologies from that period which, nevertheless, did not contain short stories were *Communists on Communism* (anon. ed.), West New York, NJ: Intercontinental Press Service, ca 1957, and *Eight Angry Men: Satirical Writings in the Soviet Sphere* (anon. ed.), West New York, NJ: Intercontinental Press Service, ca 1957. Information on the contents of the second anthology, presented as comical sketches rather than short stories, was received from the Olin Library service at Cornell University (email communication). Texts by Polish authors included: "A Tourist" by Wiesław Brudziński, "The Reliable People" by Andrzej Rumian, "An English Suite" by Stefan Nowina, "Rehabilitation" by Jerzy Ficowski and "A Song of Consolation" by Antoni Marianowicz.

[98] The name of the journal (1950-1963), which originated as a result of the fusion of two other weeklies *Odrodzenie* (1944-1950) and *Kuźnica* (1945-1950), held a reference to Jerzy Giedroyc's monthly *Kultura* (1947-2000). The fact became all the more evident in 1963, when, after the merger with *Przegląd Kulturalny*, *Nowa Kultura* was renamed simply *Kultura* (1963-1981), issued on a weekly basis. By adopting this tactic, however, communists did not manage to mislead the readers of the Paris-based monthly, commonly known as "the Paris *Kultura*."

> disappoint his readers, but at the same time, the story was idiotic,[99] like all the rest of his work. A few months later a metamorphosis took place in Brandys's heart, and he wrote a novella called "The Defense of Grenada." It was all about how things aren't good, but they'll get better. They aren't good, because they have to be bad, but from a certain moment, there'll be peace and happiness. Brandys didn't serve any surprises to his readers this time, either. He didn't undermine their trust. Artur Sandauer, a man without illusions, dissected Brandys's epic with a professional's pen. Sandauer mockingly referred to it as "opportunism of epic proportions."[100] One day Maruś Perelmann came to the office and suggested that Lasota print "The Defense of Grenada" as an insert and arrange a special discussion about it at the Crooked Circle Club. Lasota was at euphoria's peak and agreed immediately. *Po Prostu* sponsored the Crooked Circle Club, but I became furious and went to Lasota. "Lilek," I said. "Throw Perelmann out of here together with his shitty "Defense of Grenada." It's a shame if *Po Prostu* does this sort of thing. Either we publish new writers we believe in, or we publish writers who haven't whored themselves out.[101] Let's face it. Things are bad if a writer like Miłosz left the country. And this one here suddenly went through a metamorphosis? The hell with Brandys." Lasota didn't want to hear it. He published "Grenada" and organized the discussion. After that, the affairs of *Po Prostu* ceased to interest me. (2013: Kindle Locations 1108-1124)

Notwithstanding Hłasko's idealism, "Obrona Grenady" certainly marked a new direction in Polish politics and provided solid grounding for the cultural détente between the East and the West in the days after Khrushchev's report and McCarthy's death.

The second of the two anti-communist anthologies published in the 1950s, *Bitter Harvest: The Intellectual Revolt behind the Iron Curtain*, was preceded with an introduction by François Bondy. It came out in 1959 as part of the CIA-sponsored Praeger's Publications in Russian History and World Communism series and contained short stories, poems, literary, philosophical and political essays, as well as open letters by authors from various countries of the Eastern Bloc. Most of the texts from Poland were reprints from the American magazine *East Europe*,[102] which in turn were translations from the Warsaw weekly *Nowa Kultura*. In the review of *Bitter Harvest*, written for *The Western Political Quarterly*, Richard C. Gripp observed:

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[99] Original: "również i to opowiadanie było kretyńskie" (Hłasko 1966: 64), which means "also this time the story was idiotic."

[100] Original: "oportunizm bohaterski" (Hłasko 1966: 64), which translates as "heroic opportunism," the mock-heroic epic. In his literary autobiography *Pióro* (2012), Marek Nowakowski lists next to "Obrona Grenady" two more narratives of similar nature: *Piekło wybrukowane* by Andrzej Braun (translated into English as *The Paving Stones of Hell*, 1959) and *Zatrzymany do wyjaśnienia* by Stanisław Wygodzki (Nowakowski 2012: 62).

[101] Original: "Albo drukujemy debiutantów, w których wierzymy, albo drukujemy pisarzy, którzy się nie kurwili" (Hłasko 1966: 64). The sentence seems to be slightly illogical in the context given. What Hłasko had in mind was: "Either we publish new writers we believe in and those who haven't whored themselves out, or we publish Brandys and the like."

[102] For more information about this magazine see Chapter One (p. 40).

> In Eastern Europe developments in Poland and Hungary since 1956 lend weight to the contention that literary revisionism accompanies political revisionism. Of the two countries, Poland stands out as having the greatest amount of intellectual freedom – the highpoint of this freedom being exercised in 1956. The editor of *Bitter Harvest* demonstrates this by picking most of his selections from Polish writers (almost half of the book), and chiefly from the year 1956. […] This collection of "revisionist" writings by authors under communism is a well-chosen sampling which can be recommended to both specialists and non-specialists in the Soviet field. The essays in this work illustrate that despite the strictures of modern Communist political rule, creative literature, though curbed, cannot be ended by dictum. (1960: 246-247)

Ten Contemporary Polish Stories (1958) was one more anthology which appeared in the 1950s. Published by the Wayne State University Press in Edmund Ordon's edition, the collection differed from the previous two, since it was supposed to serve more academic purposes, providing a cross-section through the short-story genre by contemporary Polish writers. However, even in this case the reception of the anthology did not escape political connotations. Robert L. Belknap's review of the book opens with the following passage:

> Even literate Americans know Polish literature only through the few works like *Quo Vadis?*, which have been translated over the years from an inaccessible world, and through the penetrating insights into Soviet cultural and social legislations which have appeared since 1955. Prof. Edmund Ordon's collection of Polish stories by ten contemporary authors should present some of the variety of literary methods and modes of understanding which underlay both the major works and the stand against the Soviets. (1959: 148)

Unfortunately, Belknap's latter claim can barely hold when faced with the fact that only three of the ten stories included in Ordon's anthology were written after 1945: Józef Mackiewicz's "The Adventures of an Imp," Jerzy Zawieyski's "The President Calls" and Marek Hłasko's "The Most Sacred Words of Our Life," out of which none may be described as a "stand against the Soviets" (ibid.).

The 1960s constituted a prolific time for Polish writing, which no doubt was the outcome of the official break with socialist realism aesthetics. Anthologies which contained short stories from Poland were especially abundant in this decade, also when limited only to those containing narratives first published since 1945. Four out of the seven collections from the 1960s were focused exclusively on Polish authors, among them *Contemporary Polish Short Stories* (1960), selected by Andrzej Kijowski and published by the Polonia Publishing House in Warsaw, Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories*

and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today (1962), Adam Gillon and Ludwik Krzyżanowski's *Introduction to Modern Polish Literature: An Anthology of Fiction and Poetry* (1964) and Celina Wieniewska's *Polish Writing Today* (1967), the last three brought out by foreign publishers.

Kijowski's *Contemporary Polish Short Stories* contained pieces by Jerzy Andrzejewski, Tadeusz Borowski, Kazimierz Brandys, Bohdan Czeszko, Maria Dąbrowska, Kornel Filipowicz, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Zofia Nałkowska, Ksawery Pruszyński, Jerzy Putrament, Tadeusz Różewicz, Adolf Rudnicki, Jerzy Zawieyski, Stanisław Zieliński and Wojciech Żukrowski. This is how the compiler of the anthology introduced his selection to the reader:

> The present selection includes the works of authors of the older and middle generation, writers whose output is a direct testimony to war, occupation, liberation and the socialist revolution in Poland. Since 1956 a new generation of writers has appeared, beginning a new period in Polish literature, different from the one I have attempted to enclose within the covers of this little book. As I offer it to the foreign reader, I hope it may play its modest role as an introduction to our literature. (Kijowski 1960: 10)

The omission of the writers whose literary debuts date to the year 1956 and shortly beyond, the so called *pokolenie Współczesności*,[103] was undoubtedly dictated by political exigencies. It is even possible that *Contemporary Polish Short Stories* was brought out by the Polonia Publishing House in answer to the collections published abroad, selected according to the anti-communist key. Nevertheless, the representation of post-war Polish prose proposed in Kijowski's collection was much richer than the image of Polish literature contained in the anthologies from the 1950s. The inclusion of Kazimierz Brandys's "The Defence of the 'Granada'," [104] as well as Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz's "The Badger," which could not appear in print prior to 1956 even in their original Polish, were supposed to demonstrate the openness of the new government to internal criticism and the departure from the former socialist realism doctrine.

According to the title of the book, Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today* (1962) was

[103] *Współczesność* was the name of a literary biweekly published in Warsaw between 1956 and 1971. Representatives of *pokolenie Współczesności*, the *Współczesność* generation, include among others: Andrzej Bursa, Marek Hłasko, Marek Nowakowski, Halina Poświatowska, Edward Stachura (Gazda 2009: 542-549).
[104] Kijowski's *Contemporary Polish Short Stories* (1960) contained a different translation of "Obrona Grenady" by Kazimierz Brandys ("The Defence of the 'Granada'," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska) from that in Paweł Mayewski's *The Broken Mirror* ("The Defense of Granada," trans. by Norbert Guterman).

exclusively devoted to literary pieces by home writers. The motivation behind such a focus was probably Kuncewiczowa's wish to satisfy curiosity about literary life behind the Iron Curtain and to provide a counterbalance for her earlier engagement in the promotion of Polish émigré authors.[105] Moreover, between 1962 and 1968, Kuncewiczowa taught Polish literature at the University of Chicago, so the collection must have also been helpful as a didactic tool for acquainting her students with modern writing from Poland.

In the Introduction to the anthology, the editor tried to justify her decision by claiming that because "émigré literature 'came to fruition under skies different from those at home,' she feels that it cannot fully illustrate the Polish nation's mood and experience" (Gillon 1963: 121). While Adam Gillon was prone to accept Kuncewiczowa's choice as purely arbitrary, he found her explanation debatable and ill-serving. On the other hand, Wiktor Weintraub supported Kuncewiczowa's approach:

> Mrs. Kuncewicz decided not to include émigré writers; and by and large she is right. People who left Poland during or shortly after the war cannot bear witness to life in Poland nowadays. One wonders, however, whether she might not have made an exception in the case of Hłasko, who left as recently as 1960[106] and whose stories would have added a much-needed astringent quality to the book. (1962: 29)

With the exception of omitting Hłasko, *The Modern Polish Mind* was a representative cross-section of various trends in Polish modern prose, organised into four sections: "What Polish Writers Remember," "How They See Life," "What They Believe," and "Their Humor." The anthology's critical reception was generally positive and reviewers stressed its importance as a well-balanced introduction to Polish prose writing. Gillon expressed the conviction that:

> The average American reader will find these pages both valuable and entertaining for they introduce him to the Party apologist as well as to the devout Catholic; they take him back to the prewar Poland and also to the days of the Nazi occupation and the postwar period. The enormous variety of these selections suggests a panoramic, complex and often a paradoxical picture of the country's intellectual life. Perhaps this was the editor's main idea: to present to us the very special dilemma of the Polish writer, brought up in "West-oriented, Catholic Poland" which now serves as a meeting ground for Western democracies and Eastern communism. It seems to me that this idea justifies an otherwise serious omission of the émigré literature […]. (1963: 121)

[105] Kuncewiczowa, an émigré herself, was a co-organiser of the London-based Committee for Writers in Exile.
[106] In fact, Hłasko left Poland for France in 1958, the same year asking for asylum in West Berlin, a decision he was later to regret.

Olga Scherer-Virski added:

> In her interpretation of what Polish intellectuals believe, Mrs. Kuncewicz singles out communism and Catholicism, two trends of thought which, I admit, are the most easily distinguishable but not necessarily the most profoundly felt. She does, however, stress *the existence of uncommitted thought, which is more characteristic in literature since 1956 than any ideology*. (1963: 378; emphasis added)

Introduction to Modern Polish Literature: An Anthology of Fiction and Poetry (1964) by Adam Gillon and Ludwik Krzyżanowski responded to the need of those readers who desired a condensed view of modern Polish literature. It accommodated fifteen excerpts from nine novels, some twenty short stories, and more than 100 poems by both home and émigré writers (Nagurski 1965: 207). Post-war short stories or excerpts from novels included Zofia Nałkowska's "Professor Spanner," Maria Dąbrowska's "On a Beautiful Summer Morning," an excerpt from Zofia Kossak's *The Covenant*, Jan Parandowski's "An Ordinary Day," Jerzy Andrzejewski's "The Trial," Adolf Rudnicki's "The Great Stefan Konecki," Kazimierz Brandys's "How to Be Loved," Jerzy Zawieyski's "Cry on the Void," Marek Hłasko's "A First Step into the Clouds" and Tadeusz Różewicz's "In the Most Beautiful City of the World."

Similarly to Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind* (1962), the anthology edited and translated by Celina Wieniewska, *Polish Writing Today* (1967), was composed of texts authored only by writers living in Poland. Among other literary pieces, poetry and prose, Wieniewska's collection included post-war short stories or excerpts from novels by Eugeniusz Kabatc, Magda Leja, Henryk Grynberg, Stanisław Stanuch, Tadeusz Hołuj, Jacek Bocheński, Stanisław Chaciński, Marek Nowakowski and Wiesław Dymny. In her introduction to the anthology, Wieniewska remarked that although no émigré writers have been included, some of them, like Czesław Miłosz, Adam Czerniawski or Jan Darowski, were represented as translators of poetical pieces (1967: 12-13). According to Mieczysław Giergielewicz, Wieniewska's explanation sounded "almost facetious" (Giergielewicz 1969: 263). All in all, however, the reviewer stated that although "the anthology does not pay full justice to the experimental passion and spirit of adventure which animate Polish literature both at home and abroad […] it provides lively and fascinating reading" (ibid.: 264). By contrast, Wacław Iwaniuk spared no punches against Wieniewska's selection of young Polish writers, when he stated:

> The selection of authors is so random that it becomes nonsensical. I only feel sorry for Różewicz and Herbert in this group,[107] although I doubt if anyone asked them for permission to be published in the book or acquainted them with the contents and names of other writers. I doubt it. It is not only me who could list the inconsistencies of this publication, the average reader of Polish literature would be able to point out Mrs Wieniewska's literary blindness and gross omissions, if only the book were really about introducing the Anglo-Saxon reader to our contemporary writing. Its author, however, most probably composed this strange conglomerate with a completely different aim in mind. (1968: 205; trans. mine)

Iwaniuk's virulent criticism in which he accused Wieniewska of political bias in compiling the anthology shows, in fact, his own preferences for opposition literature and offended ambitions. Moreover, it is not clear if the decision to omit pieces by émigré writers was made independently by Wieniewska, since the collection constituted part of the Writing Today Penguin series and most probably was commissioned to her in accordance with the political line of improved Polish-Western relations of the period 1958-1967. Iwaniuk, an émigré poet and translator himself, should have known that, among other works, Wieniewska rendered Czesław Miłosz's *Zdobycie władzy* (1955; *The Seizure of Power*, 1955), a decidedly anti-communist novel. His stance is a model example of politically stimulated literary criticism and subscribes to the phenomenon so aptly described by Witold Gombrowicz in the 1953 diary entry on Czesław Miłosz, in which he expressed his view on anti-communist literature and writers:

> [By] reducing everything to that one antinomy between East and West, you must inevitably conform to patterns that you yourself create. And even more so because there is no way to make the distinction between what is the quest for truth in you and what a desire for psychological mobilization in the battle. I don't mean to say that you cultivate propaganda. I want to say that deep collective instincts, that today dictate to humanity that it should concentrate on just one struggle, are speaking through you. You swim with the current of mass imagination, which has already created its own language, ideas, images, and myths, and the current is carrying you farther than you would like to go. […] In you, the boundlessness and richness of life are reduced to a few issues, and you use an oversimplified concept of the world, a concept you well know is provisional. Why, the value of pure art is exactly in its breaking up of these set patterns. (2012: 21)

Iwaniuk's distrust towards Wieniewska's motivation in compiling her anthology might have been grounded in the special status which allowed her "to keep a foot on both sides of

[107] Both writers were represented by poetical pieces.

the Iron Curtain" during "the Cold War age of espionage" (Stuart and Luck 2009). The bibliographical note about Wieniewska contained in *Polish Writing Today* says:

> [B]orn [in 1909] and educated in Warsaw, [Wieniewska] is MA in French Language and Literature of Warsaw University. After graduating, was a reviewer of foreign books for a Warsaw daily and a translator from English into Polish. First came to England in 1938, returned to Warsaw just before the outbreak of the War, managed to get to Italy at the end of 1939 and, after a two-year journey via Turkey, Iraq and India, returned to London in 1941 and has lived here ever since. (Biographical Notes 1967: 201)

There is, however, no information about Wieniewska's post-war Polish connections.[108] In 1950, Czytelnik brought out her last English-Polish translation, which was H. G. Wells's *Kipps* (1905), a social novel about class prejudice.[109] Nevertheless, it must have been the anti-communist side, which she served, if any. A Jewish refugee from war-torn Poland, the translator was recruited by the Polish government in exile in Britain (Stuart and Luck 2009). Her good command of English, testified by Polish renditions of Anglophone authors, which she conducted before and during the war, must have been an asset. According to the British journalists:

> Having served the pro-Western Polish government, the immediate aftermath of the war found her working for Stalin's puppet Communist government at its London embassy. She decided to go back to Warsaw, ostensibly to resign her post, but it is possible she was engaged on some mission either on behalf of the free Polish government or as a spy for the British. Celina would later tell her husband[110] that she "got out one day before the communists issued a warrant for her arrest." (ibid.)

The remaining three collections from the 1960s, in which English renditions of Polish short stories and novel excerpts found their place, were: the second volume of *The World of Modern Fiction* anthology (1966), edited by Steven Marcus and devoted to literature from

[108] Earlier, during the Second World War, Wieniewska had her English translations of works by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Arkady Fiedler published, both of whom chose to live in Poland after the war was over: Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, *Summer at Nohant: A Play in 3 Acts*, trans. by Celina Wieniewska, London: Minerva, 1942 (the Polish original was serialised between 1936 and 1937 in the literary magazine *Skamander*) and Arkady Fiedler, *Thank You, Captain, Thank You!*, trans. by Celina Wieniewska, London: Max Love, 1945 (the Polish original was published as *Dziękuję ci, kapitanie*, Letchworth: Letchworth Printers, 1944).

[109] Robert Looby thus writes about Wieniewska's translation of *Kipps*: "Four censor's reports on *Kipps* by H.G. Wells can be found in the archives, all in favour of publication 'without changes' […]. But changes were made to the book and they were quite clearly politically motivated, suggesting again that the censors' job was largely done even before they read the manuscript" (2015: 39). One of the censors' reports quoted by Looby suggests that it was the publisher's editor who introduced the changes rather than the translator herself (2015: 40).

[110] Wieniewska was married to Peter Janson-Smith, Ian Fleming's literary agent.

Europe; *New Writing of East Europe* (1968), edited by George Gömöri and Charles Newman; and *Stories from the Literary Review* (1969), edited by Charles Angoff. The first of these collections featured two post-war short stories by Polish writers: Tadeusz Borowski's "This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen" and Sławomir Mrożek's "On a Journey." *New Writing of East Europe* contained a lot of reprinted material from the Spring Issue of the *TriQuarterly* magazine (1967), of which Newman was the editor, and presented an excerpt from Jacek Bocheński's novel *Tabu* and Marek Hłasko's "Amor 43."[111] Angoff's anthology, *Stories from the Literary Review*, included Zofia Nałkowska's "Beside the Railroad Track." The selection of the stories contained in the above anthologies proves that, just as with books by single authors, the themes of the Second World War and of political issues in post-war Poland were typical of the perception of Polish literature in the United States, at least until Stanisław Lem appeared on the scene of Polish-English literary translation.

Eight anthologies containing translations of Polish short stories were published in the 1970s, out of which as many as six in 1970 alone. *The Naked Emperor: An Anthology of International Political Satire* (1970), edited by Barbara Fultz, included short stories by Polish authors who contributed to the *Szpilki* satirical magazine. James E. Miller, Robert O'Neal and Helen McDonnell edited and published two collections: *Russian and Eastern European Literature* (1970) with three short stories by Sławomir Mrożek and *Man in Literature: Comparative World Studies in Translation* (1970), featuring Jerzy Andrzejewski's "The Trial." Darko Suvin's anthology *Other Worlds, Other Seas: Science-Fiction Stories from Socialist Countries* (1970) was one of the first books to introduce translations of works by Stanisław Lem, while the anonymously edited anthology *Children Everywhere* (1970) contained a story by Czesław Janczarski, the original of which was published in 1955 by Nasza Księgarnia. The sixth anthology published in 1970 was Leopold Tyrmand's *Explorations in Freedom: Prose, Narrative and Poetry from Kultura*. Most probably, it was this collection to which Jerzy Giedroyc referred in his autobiography, unveiling its turbulent origins:

> When Tyrmand decided to stay in the West, he found himself in dire financial straits. I suggested then that he edit an anthology of writings from *Kultura* for the American reader, since he was going to the United States. Thanks to Alicja Iwańska, the University at Albany was willing to publish the collection. They even gave Tyrmand a Visiting Professor salary and his own room as an incentive, but he ignored it all. He went to Albany once or twice to have a

[111] The political involvement of the magazine concerning, among others, events in Poland was also reflected in the 1971 Winter Issue devoted to Leszek Kołakowski.

> swim in their pool and play tennis and didn't even make an outline of the anthology. In the end, I had to make the selection myself, although I had no idea about the American audience. The anthology was edited in such a sloppy manner that it contains glaring errors. Because of this, our ways parted. He didn't admit to being at fault and took offence.[112] (1994: 197; trans. mine)

Two other anthologies from the 1970s were: *View from Another Shore: European Science Fiction* (1973), edited by Franz Rottensteiner and *An Introduction to Polish Literature* (1977), edited by Jerzy Strzetelski. The former collection contained a short story by Stanisław Lem, while the latter featured short stories by Zofia Nałkowska, Jan Dobraczyński, Kazimierz Brandys, Tadeusz Konwicki, Sławomir Mrożek, Zbigniew Brzozowski and Marek Sołtysik. The textbook character of Strzetelski's anthology owes to the fact that it was prepared as a didactic aid for the English-language students of the Summer School of Polish Language and Culture at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków.

The great popularity of science fiction and fantasy, the boom of which fell onto the 1970s, continued in the following decade. Narratives belonging to these genres, written by such Polish writers as Stanisław Lem, Konrad Fiałkowski and Janusz A. Zajdel, were to be found in as many as eight publications from the 1980s. The only anthology published in that decade which was not devoted to the science fiction genre was Helena Goscilo's *Russian and Polish Women's Fiction* (1985). From among contemporary narratives by Polish writers, it featured two pieces by Zofia Nałkowska from her original collection *Medaliony* (1946), which gave an account of nazi atrocities in Poland and wartime dehumanisation of all people.

The anthology which opened the 1990s was Robert Kostrzewa's *Between East and West: Writings from Kultura* (1990). This is how its editor wrote about the circumstances of the project's conception:

> It is often the case with book projects that they begin with a passing remark. The story of this anthology is no different. In the autumn of 1986 I spoke with a German sociologist and political writer, Ralf Dahrendorf, about *Kultura*, a Polish émigré monthly review published in Paris by the Institut Littéraire. During the conversation, I showed him a small book of *Kultura*'s articles published in German translation. He suggested that I should prepare a similar volume for the English-speaking reader. More than two years later, when I was about to complete my work on this book, I realized how dangerous passing remarks could be if they are taken seriously. (Kostrzewa 1990: ix)

[112] Another publication, also in Tyrmand's edition, entitled *Kultura Essays* (1970), was brought out by the Free Press (a division of the Macmillan Company) in cooperation with the State University of New York at Albany and Collier-Macmillan in London. *Explorations in Freedom: Prose, Narrative and Poetry from Kultura* appeared by the same publisher, hence it is possible that Giedroyc's account refers to his general negative experience of the cooperation with Tyrmand and pertains to both books.

Most interestingly, while working on the project, Kostrzewa, and indeed the whole staff of *Kultura*, were witnessing the dawn of a new political era towards which they had been working since the decisions of the Big Three at the Yalta Conference had subjected Poland to the Soviet sphere of influence. Kostrzewa's Preface bears witness to these changes:

> Copies of *Kultura* and the books published by the Institut Littéraire were not only smuggled into the country but also reprinted by underground publishers. Since 1988 the magazine has also had its "Polish" edition published simultaneously by one of the independent presses in Warsaw. Today one can buy *Kultura*, as well as other uncensored publications, at numerous independent distribution centers throughout Poland. […] Some people may wonder whether there is still a need for *Kultura*, or does it belong to the ancient past of the Cold War? […] In presenting this anthology to English-speaking readers, I hope to accomplish two goals: to introduce *Kultura* and its intellectual milieu to a broader audience, and to present – if only in an incomplete and fragmented fashion – several important issues and concerns which the Poles have been trying to cope with in recent years. All the essays in this book were written before the events of spring and summer 1989, which brought Solidarity into the government. I believe, however, that the passions and problems explored in these articles and short stories remain pertinent and shed much light on where Poles have been, where they are today, and where they are headed. (ibid.: xii-xiii)

All the texts contained in *Between East and West: Writings from Kultura* were divided into three sections entitled: "Where We Live," "What We Think" and "What We Write," the third part consisting of fictionalised memoirs, short stories and excerpts from novels.

Similarly to the 1970s and 1980s, the continuing appeal of the science-fiction genre resulted in the inclusion of Stanisław Lem's stories in as many as five anthologies published in the 1990s. Four of these, prepared by Anglo-American editors were: *Spells of Enchantment: The Wondrous Fairy Tales of Western Culture* (1991) by Jack Zipes; *The SF Collection* (1994) by Edel Brosnan; *The Flying Sorcerers: More Comic Tales of Fantasy* (1997) by Peter Haining and *Around the World* (1998) by James Gunn. The fifth anthology, in which Lem's story found its place, among other Polish authors, was *The Eagle and the Crow: Modern Polish Short Stories* (1996) by Teresa Halikowska and George Hyde. The editors accommodated examples of Polish writing, which prefigured "major developments in European culture […]. In particular, the sense of existential exposure, the grotesque and the absurd, which runs through post-war writing in Europe and America" (Halikowska and Hyde 1996: viii).

The Dedalus Book of Polish Fantasy (1996), edited and translated by Wiesiek Powaga, was organised along the theme of the devil. In the Introduction to the book, Powaga declared:

> In choosing the stories for this anthology I tried to do justice to the devil and various strands of tradition which account for his presence in Polish fantastic fiction. I wanted to present the English reader with some of the historical and cultural background of his exploits in a repertoire of roles and guises in which he is familiar to the Poles […]. (1996: 8)

Two anthologies, out of those published in the 1990s, were devoted entirely to the Jewish topic. *Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology* (1995), edited by Lawrence L. Langer, contained, among others, short stories by Ida Fink, Sara Nomberg-Przytyk, Tadeusz Borowski and Adolf Rudnicki, while Harold Bernard Segel's anthology, *Stranger in Our Midst: Images of the Jew in Polish Literature* (1996), focused on the representation of the Jew in Polish literature by non-Jews. Another collection, *Description of a Struggle: The Vintage Book of Contemporary Eastern European Writing* (1994), edited by Michael March, represented Polish writing by an excerpt from *Zagłada*, a novel by Piotr Szewc.

One more thematic anthology, which appeared in the 1990s, was Mirosław Lipiński's *Treasury of Classic Polish Love Short Stories: In Polish and English* (1997), which among other texts, contained short love stories by Stanisław Dygat and Halina Poświatowska.[113]

Three anthologies containing translations of short stories written and published between 1945 and 1989 came out in the 2000s: *Contemporary Jewish Writing in Poland* (2001), edited by Antony Polonsky and Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska; *Polish Literature from 1918 to 2000: An Anthology* (2008), selected and translated by Michał Jacek Mikoś; and *The SFWA*[114] *European Hall of Fame: Sixteen Contemporary Masterpieces of Science Fiction from the Continent* (2008), edited by James and Kathryn Morrow. *Contemporary Jewish Writing in Poland* constituted a complementary collection to Segel's *Stranger in Our Midst: Images of the Jew in Polish Literature* (1996) and focused on writings by Polish Jews in post-war Poland and abroad. In turn, Mikoś's *Polish Literature from 1918 to 2000* (2008) was part of an immense translatorial and editorial project, in which he wanted to introduce to the English-language reader specimens of Polish literary tradition, from the Renaissance to the year 2000. The sci-fi anthology, edited by James and Kathryn Morrows, featured a story by Marek Huberath, "Yoo Retoont, Sneogg. Ay Noo" in Michael Kandel's translation, whose

[113] Unfortunately, Lipiński did not give any information about the sources from which he derived the original texts by Dygat and Poświatowska.
[114] Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America.

original won the writer recognition in Poland in the late 80s. The same story appeared in the PIASA Books anthology, *A Polish Book of Monsters: Five Dark Tales from Contemporary Poland* (2010). 2010 was also the year in which *The Wesleyan Anthology of Science Fiction* was published, edited by Arthur B. Evans, Istvan Csicsery-Ronay Jr., Joan Gordon and Veronica Hollinger. Among other stories, the collection listed "The Seventh Voyage" from the *Star Diaries* by Stanisław Lem. Also *Lemistry: A Celebration of the Work of Stanisław Lem* (2011), edited by Ra Page and Magda Raczyńska, paid homage to the Polish master of the science-fiction genre with previously unpublished translations of his two short stories: "Invasion from Aldebaran" and "Darkness and Mildew," both translated by Antonia Lloyd-Jones.

2.2.2. Concluding Remarks

In his review of the anthology *Bitter Harvest: The Intellectual Revolt behind the Iron Curtain* (1959), George S. N. Luckyj wrote:

> Intellectual revolt within the Soviet sphere of influence has, for the most part, been studied as it appeared in Russian literature. To a western student these "rebels" or "deviationists" are writers like Pilnjak, Zamjatin, Axmatova, Pasternak or Dudincev – all of them Russians. The political debacles in Hungary and Poland in 1956 drew attention to the intellectual unrest in these countries and, for the first time, stimulated interest in Eastern Europe in general. (1960: 67)

Indeed, even if stimulated by the Cold War atmosphere, the general public's attention drawn to Eastern European matters resulted in genuine attraction to Polish literature among many Anglophone readers. The graphic distribution of anthologies from the studied group shows that the record level of collections containing renditions of stories or excerpts from novels originally published in Polish between 1945 and 1989, falls onto the 1990s, having started the steady rise in the 1950s.[115] Obviously, the fact that only two anthologies devoted to translated Polish literature were brought out shortly after the war must be linked to the fact that not much new writing from Poland could have reached editors and translation commissioners in the time between 1945 and 1949. On the other hand, if anthologies devoted exclusively to Polish contributors are taken into account, it turns out that the record number of such publications was four per decade and was linked with the 1960s and the 1990s. Interestingly, although three out of the four collections which came out in the 1960s were

[115] See Appendix 4 (p. 305) and Chart 12 (p. 370).

devoted only to writers living in Poland, as many as two of them were brought out by foreign publishers (Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today*, 1962 and Celina Wieniewska's *Polish Writing Today*, 1967), only one appearing in Poland (Andrzej Kijowski's *Contemporary Polish Short Stories*, 1960). This could have been the result of the rapprochement in Polish-American and Polish-British relations which started around 1958 after Wiesław Gomułka came to power in 1956.[116] In turn, the record high number of anthologies containing Polish narratives, registered in the 1990s, must be attributed to interest in the Jewish theme and science fiction or fantasy literature, as well as to the need to summarise Polish contemporary writing of the previous decades. Although in terms of number there were more anthologies published in which Polish writers were one of many national groups of contributors, qualitatively, collections devoted only to Polish authors offered a much wider range of styles and themes, more representative of Polish writing from the period under consideration.

Altogether, the English-language collections brought out in Poland amounted to three[117] and were devoted to the topic of nazi atrocities committed during the Second World War (Adolf Rudnicki's *Lest We Forget*, 1955), contemporary Polish writing (Andrzej Kijowski's *Contemporary Polish Short Stories*, 1960) or served educational purposes (Jerzy Strzetelski's *An Introduction to Polish Literature*, 1977).

In contrast to thematic genres distinguished during the analysis of books by a single author, many anthologies were explicitly organised around lines as different as theme (politics, the Second World War, science-fiction and fantasy, Jews, love), the political status of the writer (exiled or home writers), writers of a given language (Polish, Russian), ethnicity of the writer (Polish gentile writers, Polish Jewish writers), sex of the writers (women) or age category (children). These, as well as geographical criteria often overlapped, for instance in Helena Goscilo's *Russian and Polish Women's Fiction* (1985) or *The Dedalus Book of Polish Fantasy* (1996), edited by Wiesiek Powaga. Anthologies devoted to science fiction or fantasy were the most numerous thematic collections, until, as well as after 1989.[118]

Before 1990, ten science-fiction anthologies featuring Polish narratives were published, with nine more titles of this genre appearing after 1989, making it the most numerous type of collections in both periods. It is needless to say that most of them contained stories by Stanisław Lem. Politics was the second most represented theme in anthologies

[116] Wiesław Gomułka served as the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party from 21st October 1956 to 20th December 1970.
[117] See Appendix 7 (p. 349) and Chart 13 (p. 371).
[118] See Appendix 7 (p. 349) and Charts 14 (p. 372) and 15 (p. 373).

featuring post-war Polish short stories (6), followed closely by collections containing Polish writing without the division into émigré and domestic authors (5). After the fall of communism, the number of political anthologies reached seven, on a par with anthologies devoted to Polish writers in general. Closely connected with world politics, whether intentionally or not, were anthologies devoted exclusively to émigré or domestic Polish writers. Two volumes of *The Pen in Exile*, edited by Paul Tabori, belong to the former group. Although the selective key concerning authors of the narratives collected in the two anthologies was political, they offered a wide variety of thematic pieces, not necessarily political themselves. Anthologies which focused on writers residing in Poland list: *Contemporary Polish Short Stories* (1960), edited by Andrzej Kijowski, *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today* (1962), edited by Maria Kuncewiczowa and *Polish Writing Today* (1967), edited by Celina Wieniewska. All three are good representations of works by Polish home writers.

The Jewish theme, as reflected in Polish short stories and novel excerpts, did not appear in anthologies before 1990. Three such collections were published in the West only after the political caesura of 1989. This fact can probably be explained by the debate concerning Polish involvement in atrocities against Jews during and after the Second World War, which started around that time in Poland and received wide media coverage in the United States, as well as to the popularity of such films as *Schindler's List* (1993) and *The Pianist* (1999), both set in wartime German-occupied Poland. After 1989, these anthologies constitute the third most represented thematic group enclosed in the form of a monographic collection.

Only one anthology was devoted solely to the topic of the Second World War and one to the theme of love. These were respectively: Adolf Rudnicki's *Lest We Forget* (1955) and *Treasury of Classic Polish Love Short Stories: In Polish and English* (1997), edited by Mirosław Lipiński. Two other groups of anthologies, containing Polish short stories from the 1945-1989 repertoire, were only represented by single titles. These were *Russian and Polish Women's Fiction* (1985), edited by Helena Goscilo and the anonymously edited *Children Everywhere* (1970). The distinction of these two groups: women writers and children's stories, shows that male literature for adults is treated in our culture as a primary point of reference which does not need definition or explanation. Even though many anthologies listed only male contributors, none of them was tagged with the phrase "men's fiction."

The four remaining collections which did not belong to any of the distinguished categories were: the second volume of *The World of Modern Fiction* (1966), edited by Steven

Marcus and devoted to European writers, *Stories from the Literary Review* (1969), edited by Charles Angoff, *Man in Literature: Comparative World Studies in Translation* (1970), edited by James E. Miller, Robert O'Neal and Helen McDonnell and *Description of a Struggle: The Vintage Book of Contemporary Eastern European Writing* (1994), edited by Michael March. To some extent the above anthologies could be considered as representative of the political category. However, next to texts of political purport they also featured narratives of a different character.

To recapitulate: forty-six out of forty-nine anthologies analysed in this section were brought out in Anglophone countries and three were published in Poland. While until 1989 the publication of many of the collections was motivated by the Cold War ideological strife, after that caesura, the meaning of the political theme decidedly diminished. Quite often narratives featured in the anthologies published abroad and edited by non-Polish editors were reprints of earlier translations published in books by single authors or in journals, while those published in Poland or edited by Poles usually involved a translation project by multiple translators. Some of the Polish editors of volumes which appeared after 1989 were also translators of their contents (e.g. *The Dedalus Book of Polish Fantasy* by Wiesiek Powaga or *Polish Literature from 1918 to 2000* by Michał Jacek Mikoś). At times it happened that the same piece was rendered independently by different translators and included in different anthologies (e.g. narratives by Zofia Nałkowska, Tadeusz Borowski, Sławomir Mrożek or Stanisław Lem). One of the collections, Paul Tabori's *The Pen in Exile: A Second Anthology* (1956), contained texts by Polish authors written originally in English; such narratives, however, exceeded the limits of this dissertation.

Chapter Three
Rejected or Unknown: Three Case Studies

The Cold War ideological struggle between the capitalist West and the communist East strongly affected the selection criteria used by Anglo-American translation commissioners in order to accept or reject works of Polish literature originally written and/or published in the years 1945-1989. In Andrew Hammond's opinion:

> Within the cultural wars of the period, literature had a special status. While abstract art, classical music and ballet reached only a small percentage of the population, literature continued to attract wide audiences, with even western societies evolving a Cold War genre fiction – sci-fi, thrillers, spy novels – that could compete with the growing power of film and television. […] That novelists were not only social commentators but also foot-soldiers in a global *Kulturkampf* is evidenced by the superpowers' choice of authors for translation, for inclusion on international syllabi and for the receipt of Nobel prizes. (2012: 3)

If we agree that between 1945 and 1989 most of the Polish novels and short-story collections were accepted into English-language literature for extra-literary, politically motivated reasons, a complementary perspective is possible, in which the following question arises: Is it possible that some of the untranslated works were rejected for extra-literary reasons too? Although significant for Polish literature and popular with the reading public, none of the prose works by such authors as Barbara Toporska (1913-1985), Kornel Filipowicz (1913-1990), Julian Kawalec (1916-2014), Zofia Posmysz (b. 1923), Tadeusz Nowak (1930-1991), Urszula Kozioł (b. 1931), Jan Himilsbach (1931-1988), Wiesław Myśliwski (b. 1932), Edward Stachura (1937-1979), Edward Redliński (b. 1940) or Zyta Oryszyn (b. 1940) had been published in English in book form before 1990.[1] What links all these writers, apart from the inherent literary value of their works, is that their most successful narratives were widely advertised and reviewed in English-language periodicals published in Poland and aimed at Anglo-American publishers and translators, such as the monthly *Bulletin of New Books and Plays* (1958-1969) or the bilingual quarterly *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise* (1968 to 1974). Moreover, short stories or fragments of longer narratives by these authors were

[1] After this caesura, only Wiesław Myśliwski's novels have been appreciated so far by English-language translators and publishers.

published in such cultural magazines as *Poland* (1954-1989), *Polish Perspectives* (1958-1989) or *The Polish Review* (1961-1969). The most important implication of this fact is that if their books remained unknown in Anglophone publishing circles, it should be contributed to the general lack of interest in Polish writing in the English-speaking world and not to the lack of promotion on the Polish part of the literary polysystem. Since many anti-communist publications of translated Polish literature were secretly funded by the CIA (Epstein 1967, Matthews 2003, Reisch 2008 & 2013, Stonor Saunders 2013, Warner 1995), apolitical writers found themselves in an underprivileged position. Moreover, staying apolitical was frequently perceived as a disadvantage, speaking against the writer in question.[2] Even more surprisingly, at least for the average reader unaware of ideological machinations, narratives about the Second World War which exposed the atrocious role played by the German occupiers in Poland tended to be omitted for translation in Western countries as soon as the political exigencies required the formation of an alliance between the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany.

Apart from the political struggle between East and West, the question of the writer's gender frequently played a significant role in the acceptance, rejection or ignorance of noteworthy literary works of Polish prose from the studied period. The pre-1989 patriarchal model of society, which was present on both sides of the Iron Curtain but proved to be especially strong in the Anglo-American world, almost by definition located texts by women authors on the peripheries of the literary polysystem, even if their narratives were artistic masterpieces and subscribed to the thematic concerns promoted in English translation, such as communist political oppression in post-war Poland.

The present chapter introduces three case studies, which subscribe to the rejection criteria described above. Each of the cases belongs to a different level of focus. The first is devoted to a singular writer, Edward Stachura, who, despite his efforts and ambitions, did not manage to arouse the interest of Anglophone translators or publishers. The second case takes as its focus the whole literary trend of *proza chłopska* (peasant prose), virtually non-existent

[2] This applies to writers living on the east side of the Iron Curtain. In his study on American courses of creative writing during the Cold War era, *Workshops of Empire* (2015), Eric Bennett points to the reverse preference in Western literature, as expressed by writer and literary critic Mark Schorer: "A novel, like a poem, should not be treated by writer or reader as the vehicle of a message. Critics who analyzed the *content* of fiction and left it at that were writing bad criticism. Schorer gave verdicts on writers, distinguishing those who could expect critical longevity (Joyce, Hemingway, Glenway Wescott) from those who could not (Lawrence, Farrell, Dos Passos, and Steinbeck). […] Schorer claimed to be making his discriminations on aesthetic grounds, but the sorting, in hindsight, looks infused with politics: Lawrence, Farrell, Dos Passos, and Steinbeck portrayed the power of environment and the specter of social determinism and were (except for Lawrence) communally minded if not downright radical; the others were individualistic" (49; original emphasis).

in English translation before 1990, although rendered into other languages, Slavonic and non-Slavonic. The third study addresses the rejection of novels and short-story collections about German wartime crimes, as well as those about the communist oppression, especially if they were written by women.

3.1. Edward Stachura: (A)political Existentialism

The Glare of It All, The Whole Dazzleness, Full Brilliance, The Whole Dazzling Brightness, Full Brightness, All the Brightness, The Whole Brightness – these are all English renditions of *Cała jaskrawość* (1969a),[3] the title of one of the most important books in Edward Stachura's writing career and, apart from *Siekierezada* (1971; Axing), his only novel, which appeared next to numerous poems, songs, short stories and other prose works. The multitude of English versions of the title does not mean, however, seven different translations of the novel. Actually, it does not even signify a single complete rendition. Rather, it reflects repeated attempts at promoting the novel abroad and making it accessible in its entirety to the Anglophone reader. In fact, only the first two forms of the English title: *The Glare of It All* and *The Whole Dazzleness* are accompanied by fragmentary renditions of the main text, both of them functioning beyond the mainstream of Polish literature in English translation. *The Glare of It All* can be found in an archival issue of *Polish Perspectives* (Stachura 1968b),[4] while *The Whole Dazzleness* constitutes part of Anna Dziewczopolska's unpublished MA dissertation (Stachura 2002b).[5] The remaining versions of the title appeared in various literary contexts: reviews of *Cała jaskrawość* (Marszałek 1970) and *Siekierezada* (Sadkowski 1972: 27), reminiscences about Stachura (Karasek 1981: 45) or in bibliographies of his works (Authors of Works… 1970: 26; Duszenko 1995; Mikoś 2008: 277).

In total, Stachura's literary output, poetry as well as prose, was translated into over twenty languages: Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, English, Estonian, French, German, Hindi, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Latvian, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Mongolian, Norwegian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian and Spanish. Interestingly, while renditions published either as individual books or as anthologies in languages other than English were performed by native speakers, those into English were conducted exclusively by Polish-born translators.

[3] The novel originally appeared in two instalments in the literary journal *Twórczość* (Stachura 1967a and 1968a).
[4] Translation based on the version printed in *Twórczość* (Stachura 1967a).
[5] Translation based on the book edition of the novel (Stachura 1969a and later editions).

Despite the promotion of Stachura's writings in periodicals aimed at the foreign reader (Stachura 1964, 1967b, 1968b; Marszałek 1970; Sadkowski 1972), only one poetic piece had been brought out in English in book form before the writer's suicide in 1979. Composed between 1957 and 1959, the poem "Wielkanoc na moim zamku" appeared as "Easter in My Castle" in Marek Englender's translation, alongside its original version in the anthology entitled *The New Polish Poetry: A Bilingual Collection* / *Z nowej polskiej poezji: Zbiór w dwóch językach*, edited by Milne Holton and Paul Vangelisti and published by the University of Pittsburgh (Stachura 1978). The anthology was the outcome of the English-language seminar organised by the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań in August 1976. Milne Holton, professor at the University of Maryland, Paul Vangelisti, an American poet, and a group of Polish students who attended the seminar, engaged in translating Polish poetry of those days. *The New Polish Poetry* might be said to represent the actual reading trends in Poland of the 1970s, since the poems contained in the collection were selected and translated by the students participating in the seminar. Additionally, Englender's choice of "Wielkanoc na moim zamku" must have been dictated by its relative simplicity, atypical of Stachura's more idiosyncratic poetry.

Two other anthologies containing English translations of Stachura's writings appeared long after his death (Stachura 2008 and 2010a). The first one, *Polish Literature from 1918 to 2000*, edited and translated by Michał Jacek Mikoś,[6] was published in 2008, while the second, Marcel Weyland's[7] bilingual *The Word: Two Hundred Years of Polish Poetry* / *Słowo: Dwieście lat poezji polskiej*, was brought out in 2010. Although well representative of multiple currents in Polish literature of the period under consideration, *Polish Literature from 1918 to 2000* contains only lyrical pieces by Stachura (2008), since the short story "Stiletto" (Borges 2008), attributed by the collection's editor to the writer, is in fact an English translation of the Polish rendition of "El puñal" by Jorge Luis Borges (1990), performed by Stachura from the Spanish original (Borges 1984). Nevertheless, thanks to Mikoś's anthology, English-language students of Polish literature are much more likely to learn about the Polish writer from this collection than from the now forgotten earlier one. Weyland's *The Word* / *Słowo* (2010) includes renditions of Stachura's two songs: "Biała Lokomotywa" ("The White

[6] Professor Mikoś teaches Polish language, literature and culture at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. In 1995, he was awarded by the Polish PEN Club for his impressive translatorial output. See Chapter One (pp. 99-100, n. 181).

[7] Marcel Weyland completed an English translation of Adam Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* (2004), he is also the translator of *Echoes: Poems of the Holocaust* (2007) and Władysław Szlengel's *What I Read to the Dead* (2012). He was awarded the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland, as well as the gold medal Gloria Artis by the Polish Minister of Culture.

Locomotive") and "Piosenka dla robotnika rannej zmiany" ("A Song for the Worker on the Early Morning Shift") (Stachura 2010a). Among others, Weyland gave the following selection criteria for the pieces contained in his collection:

> 1. they had to be short,
> 2. poems which had given me much pleasure as a child,
> 3. there are poems which can be described as iconic,
> 4. and then there are poems which I just enjoy.
> (2010: 18-19)

While the inclusion of Stachura's poetry in the three anthologies should be appreciated, it is regrettable that to date no prose works by this author have appeared in book form in English. The absence of Stachura's writings in the Anglophone publishing industry consequently shapes a distorted image of the literary and social trends in Poland of the 1960s, '70s and '80s. Until this day Stachura repeatedly inspires new generations of young people. While prior to 1989 his works and lifestyle could provide an escape from political oppression, in the new economic reality they can comfort those who witness the all-pervading rule of consumerism and erosion of spiritual values, especially if the reader looks for the latter in general ethics rather than in any religion. Although almost every year, since Stachura's death, his songs, poems, short stories, novels and other prose narratives are republished on the Polish book market, alongside books devoted to the writer himself, he remains virtually unknown in English-speaking countries. The reasons behind this situation are manifold, guided by various concerns: political, commercial, linguistic and social; systemic or purely coincidental.

Before 1989, the most significant factors behind Stachura's absence from the mainstream Anglophone book market had an extra-literary nature and were connected with Cold War publishing policies and money. After that caesura, the promotion of Polish literature abroad was limited to new literary production, presented mainly at international book fairs, since the former patronage system collapsed during martial law in Poland, causing a hiatus which lasted until 1998, when Zespół Literacki "polska2000" started its activities.[8] But even then the general focus was on literary "work written or published since 1989" (Martin 2000: 9).

Without the financing programmes offered today by the Book Institute, the position of Polish literature promoted for translation in the past was extremely difficult. During the cultural Cold War English translations of works by writers who supported socialism (in the

[8] See Chapter One (p. 100 et passim).

Anglo-American discourse always referred to as communism) were undesired or at least meaningless from the political point of view and too risky from the financial one. While many publications of translated works by dissident authors were secretly funded by the CIA "regardless of commercial viability" (*Final Report…* 1976: 193), communist, socialist and apolitical Polish writers did not stand equal chances for being published abroad. Although much has been written about the exclusion of exile or émigré Polish writers from the official circulation in Poland, the reversed *a priori* ostracism, has rarely been mentioned. As translation scholar Piotr Kuhiwczak stated: "On the whole, during the period of Soviet domination, Eastern European writers were perceived in the West as political creatures, as either dissidents or collaborators" (2006: 197).

Stachura was one of many artists who fell victim to this kind of binary thinking about literature from behind the Iron Curtain. Before his arrival in the United States, the Polish diaspora in Ann Arbor described him as a writer "supported by the communist regime" (Czochralska 2006: 63), only because he lived and created in Poland without engaging in anticommunist opposition.[9] The approach, according to which Polish writing used to be divided in Anglophone countries along ideological lines and on this basis classified as worthy or unworthy of translation, resulted in the one-dimensional image of Polish literature from the 1945-1989 period. Even writers from non-Anglophone Western countries encountered similar obstacles. Ria Vanderauwera, the author of the unpublished PhD dissertation entitled "Fiction in Translation: Policies and Options. A Case Study of the Translation of Dutch Novels into English over the Last Two Decades [1961-1980]" (1982), observed the following regularity on the Anglophone market of translated books:

> As it is, the mechanisms of the literary market, and literary taste at the target pole appear to function as commercial and aesthetic censors affecting the distribution and reception of translated literature. Dutch fiction is not written by political dissidents and it is not from or about the Third World, two factors which seem to have some market value at the Anglophone target pole […]. (1985: 199)

Born in 1937 in France, Stachura was no dissident either. His roots being in the poor background of peasants and migratory workers, he appreciated the social advancement which opened before him and his siblings in post-war Poland, to which his parents returned in 1948, tempted into this decision by political emissaries (Buchowski 2014: 23). Although the Polish

[9] Wiesław Myśliwski was the target of similar ostracism in home opposition circles (Bauer, Bugajski and Chudziński 1986: 8, 11-13). None of Myśliwski's novels was translated into English prior to 1989.

People's Republic ensured Stachura's education and, later, provided patronage over his literary development, his parents lacked the understanding for his ambitions in arts and letters, which proved to be the most serious impediment for this sensitive and ambitious man. It must be stressed that Stachura's determination to make a literary career, both in Poland and abroad, was extremely strong. Everyone familiar with the writer's biography, knows that his artistic beginnings were exceptionally arduous, accompanied by family difficulties, poverty and homelessness. It was due to his perseverance, hard work and creative vision that he owed his eventual success in Polish literature, the more admirable that, unlike some other writers of his generation, e.g. Andrzej Brycht, he never succumbed to the temptation of enjoying an extravagant lifestyle in turn for serving the official propaganda. Like many gifted men of letters who came of age in post-war Poland, the young poet received support from Julian Przyboś, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Henryk Bereza, who were among the first to recognise his talent. Without this personal, as well as systemic patronage over young artists in Poland at that time, Stachura's artistic flair might have passed unnoticed and his efforts to become a professional writer could have amounted to nothing. Compared with the Western publishing system, focused exclusively on financial gains, a literary debut in post-war Poland was much easier in those days than in the West. On 12th May 1969, Stachura noted in his diary:

> Talked to Cavour – a young Belgian intellectual. A young poet in Belgium, or a prose writer, has practically no way of publishing a book, unless under their own imprint. Everyone showers abuse at the relations in publishing houses. Real mob. So Poland – I say – is a paradise for young writers. I talk about stipends, health care, the ease of publishing a book and so on. (2010b: 53; trans. mine)

This entry demonstrates that Stachura took state patronage over Polish literature at face value. Indeed, there was no reason for him, nor for many other writers of the 1930s generation, like Jan Himilsbach (1931-1988), Wiesław Myśliwski (b. 1932), Marek Hłasko (1934-1969), Marek Nowakowski (1935-2014), Magda Leja (1935-2006) or Janusz Głowacki (b. 1938), to question this *status quo*. From the very start they were able to publish their literary creations officially, in poetics free from the socialist realism doctrine. As Czesław Miłosz expressed it:

> In spite of certain limitations imposed by the Party, literature in Poland follows its own, though sometimes quite unexpected, paths. It would be risky to foretell the future of Polish fiction, especially because so many question marks surround fiction in world literature. Perhaps the most significant feature of

> young Polish prose writers is that they are neither enthusiastic supporters of the existing order of things nor rebels. Reality for them is what it is; ideological formulas seem to them a property of the older generation. For the young generation, what exists is both established and lasting. In this respect, they do not differ very much from young writers in Western European countries, which does not mean, of course, that the society with which they are confronted is of the same type. (1966: 1019)

As long as they did not get involved in big-scale politics, young Polish writers enjoyed artistic freedom and state support, in general much better developed in socialist than in capitalist countries. Stanisław Barańczak thus characterised the position of arts and letters in post-1956 Poland:

> What was new in this situation was the phenomenon I would call "selective silencing." After 1956 the increasing suppression of culture's independence affected mostly its political, ideological, and moral messages, while various avant-garde trends (provided they were ideologically neutral) were given relatively free reign. No one has described this better than one of those poets whose very names had been symbols of the "thaw": Zbigniew Herbert. In one of his prose poems he speaks of "the lowest circle of hell," which "contrary to prevailing opinion (…) is the refuge of artists": "Throughout the year competitions, festivals and concerts are held here (…) Every few months new trends come into being and nothing, it appears, is capable of stopping the triumphant march of the avant-garde (…) Beelzebub supports the arts. He provides his artists with calm, good board, and absolute isolation from hellish life."[10] (1990: 72)

Mr. Cogito's author had no illusions about the role which the Polish Ministry of Culture envisaged for artists, but he could see through the motives of those who "organised organised games" (Mitchell 1997: 250) on both sides of the political divide. In the same poem he wrote: "He who has better art has better government – that's clear. Soon they will be able to measure their strength against one another at the Festival of the Two Worlds" (Herbert 1977: 61). Herbert's words take on a new, sinister twist in the light of the cultural Cold War, in which the other side was equally diabolic in making use of writers and manipulating the general public in a more subtle way than it was done in socialist states. Additionally, the cardinal truth of life holds that no elements of a given system may ever be fully controlled since "*spiritus fiat ubi vult*" (Gombrowicz 1956: 52). Only all-encompassing terror or universal invigilation may curb this freedom. Writers of the 1930s generation, to which

[10] From: Zbigniew Herbert, "What Mr. Cogito Thinks About Hell," trans. by Bogdana Carpenter and John Carpenter [in:] *Selected Poems*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, 60-61.

Stachura belonged, debuted at the time when the stalinist oppression was over and when the mass surveillance technology, so common nowadays, was still within the reign of science fiction. As émigré writer Witold Gombrowicz remarked in 1953, when the doctrine of socialist realism in Poland was still at its height:

> Existence is a complicated thing. Behind the main events mental work continues. […] What is more, never have we been more torn between East and West. These two worlds, destroying each other right before our eyes, create an emptiness in us which we will be able to fill only with our own contents. (2012: 283-284)

Although Gombrowicz claimed that the clash between Eastern communism and Western capitalism should result in the emergence of some "third way," filled with "our own contents," this proved to be only partially true, as most writers took sides. In many cases the political innocence of authors born in the 1930s ended either because they broke the taboo of forbidden topics, as Marek Hłasko did, or because, with the passage of time and the tightening pressure from the Soviets, they realised the extent of the foreign domination over Polish domestic affairs. Consequently, some of them, like Marek Nowakowski, Magda Leja, or Janusz Głowacki, engaged in opposition activities. Others, like Andrzej Zaniewski (b. 1939), who, among others, reported on opposition activist and writer Zyta Oryszyn, became secret collaborators (Buchowski 2014: 324-326).[11] Edward Stachura, Jan Himilsbach and Wiesław Myśliwski were among those who did not fight with communism, but who at the same time would never think of acting as informers of the Security Service. Since their artistic and personal preoccupations were connected with universal questions about human nature, they did not look for an explanation behind any wrongdoings in the political system but in the fact that people are fallible beings.

Paradoxically, even prospective oppositionists functioned and often owed their first successes to the patronage over literature in communist Poland. Witold Gombrowicz, so sensitive to multiple contradictions of existence, observed upon his reading of Artur Sandauer's book *Bez taryfy ulgowej* (1959):[12]

[11] While none of Stachura's or Oryszyn's books appeared in English translation, Zaniewski's artistically miserable and purposefully gory novel *Szczur* (1995), originally written in autumn 1979, made an international career, appearing in translation into over fifteen languages, even before the Polish version was brought out in print. *Rat* was published in English in Ewa Hryniewicz-Yarbrough's translation: in 1994 in the US and in 1995 in the UK.

[12] See Artur Sandauer, *Bez taryfy ulgowej*, Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1959. The book was a collection of articles on contemporary Polish writers. Since the initial articles of the series could not appear because of censorship restrictions, Sandauer was the first writer living in Poland who dared to publish in the Paris-based *Kultura*. The

> Even the enemies of communism, such as Hłasko, are embedded in communism for – in an artistic sense – they live off of it… and Sandauer was right to include in his book a brief exposé of the career of this talented author, touchingly helpless, incapable of getting his troubles under control intellectually, disoriented, primitive, doomed to elaborate on a few naive themes. Hłasko: interesting, but only as a product of communism – also a son of everything shoddy and one of its constituent parts. If this is how it is, why did I say that they [home writers] have outstripped the emigration? Because they – in contrast to you, here – are tired of the rubbish. […] It is not just a matter of this or that particular opinion, which may sometimes be wrong. In this book, for the first time since the war, one hears the voice of a *clerc*, returning Poland to Europe (which does not mean: to European capitalism). (2012: 452-453)

Although Stachura's social background, similarly to that of the writers' representing the "peasant current" or those taking roots from other underprivileged groups of the pre-war Polish society, could partially serve as an explanation for his lack of interest in political opposition, he was first and foremost concerned with existential questions about the meaning of life and death, independent of transitory political regimes, whether communist or capitalist. Stachura was deeply convinced that people themselves are the source of evil, just as they are the source of good. He felt bitterly misunderstood when most of the critical reception of his short stories from *Jeden dzień* (1962) and *Falując na wietrze* (1966) reduced him to the naive advocate of Franciscan life or a good savage, set against the sentimental backdrop of nature (Pachocki 2007: 20-23). The famous passage from *Cała jaskrawość*, in which the writer directly challenges his critics to stop "waffling stubbornly about the simplicity of this world, poetic prose, romantic wanderings, the philosophy of legs, going back to nature and so on" (1969a: 116; trans. mine), is soon followed by a series of quotations from reports, complaints and requests to the authorities of the local state-owned agricultural machinery centre, contained in a folder found by one of the novel's characters (ibid.: 118-131). Although it could be argued that through the inclusion of these documents, skilfully woven into the fabric of the main plot, Stachura wanted to expose the inefficiencies of the state-run economy, it is much more plausible that in his eyes they constituted hard evidence of self-induced human misery, independent of any one political system. This approach was best expressed at the meeting with his readers in June 1978, when Stachura said:

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second edition of the book appeared under the title *Dla każdego coś przykrego*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1966. Between 1947 and 1949 Sandauer criticised the socialist realism doctrine, for which he received a ban on publishing, in force until the end of the stalinist era in Poland in 1956.

> All our history, human history, is, unfortunately, as can be seen in all history textbooks, whether they describe real events or are just fantasy, a history of wars. Wars between families of the same humanity which these families compose or rather decompose, since otherwise they wouldn't keep murdering each other. We may hope and believe that the last war was the last one. But is it certain? Why should it be so? Soon after the end of the last war a new one, the so-called cold war[13] began and you can hear its tones in the speeches of statesmen again. […] i cannot change the world. But what is the world? Am i not the world? Are we not the world? It is we who are the world. If i reach out to myself and start anew, although i'm already forty, it doesn't matter when, and if i see who i am […] i will know myself. This is the beginning. (qtd in: Buchowski 2014: 466-467; trans. mine)

In his article "Trzecia droga Stachury" (Stachura's Third Way), published on the thirtieth anniversary of Stachura's death, Dariusz Nowacki thus summarised the socio-cultural phenomenon of this writer:

> Stachura is troublesome for those who try to convince us today that writers in the Polish People's Republic were either oppositionists or conformists, that either they belonged to the underground movement or reported on their colleagues and thanks to this lived in luxury, travelled the world and published books in immense print runs. Stachura's life and deeds prove that the "third way" was possible not only in theory, but was lived to the full. (2009: 19; trans. mine)

In his literary autobiography *Pióro*, Marek Nowakowski also gives evidence to Stachura's focus on the individual perspective rather than political concerns:

> He isolated himself from the political reality, from the world of security offices, the party, blatant propaganda and Soviet domination. *From the start he didn't allow these matters to enter into his writing, although he knew life inside out*. On the road, he met people of different creeds and experiences. Throughout his nomadic life, he heard their conversations and confidences in railway stations, workers' hotels, trains, local buses, small-town inns, bars, student canteens. However, he was silent about it. (2012: 48; trans. mine; emphasis added)

While it is true that Stachura's writings are almost free from politics, his diaries and letters included, in private conversations he did not avoid political topics, such as the 1970 December protests in northern Poland, in which demonstrators were killed and wounded by

[13] Taking into account Stachura's idiosyncrasies, as well as the fact that the year 1978 corresponds to the stage of "man-nobody" in the poet's life I employed in this translation the small-case spelling of the expression "Cold War" and the pronoun "I." In turn, at around the same time, Stachura decided to always write the word "Sun" with a capital "S" (Stachura 1984a: 202).

the Polish People's Army and the Citizens' Militia (Buchowski 2014: 192). Although Stachura was moved by the bloodshed, there are no written traces left of this and of similar events. In contrast, the 1973 Chilean *coup d'état*, instigated by the CIA, in which the left-wing President, Salvador Allende, was murdered and the criminal *junta* government under Augusto Pinochet installed, triggered a direct response from the Polish writer. He decidedly condemned this event as "a fascist earthquake"[14] and devoted to it part of an episode in *Wszystko jest poezja* (1975), expressing his solidarity and compassion with the victims of the coup (Stachura 1984d: 153-155).

Although the poet himself abstained from big politics on home ground, neither actively supporting nor opposing the government, he did not act in a void. Maria Nurowska expressed the opinion of many when she wrote:

> I didn't like Stachura either as a man or as a writer. I thought him a state-employed bard, the regime's darling. He was no danger to it. On the contrary, general anaesthesia which he applied suited the rulers. […] This "hiding in his own pelt, eating cheese from the knapsack, drinking rain" for me were simply a form of escapism from life, from responsibility for an enslaved Poland. Back then, Michnik and Kuroń were my idols. Like most Poles I adored them, was on their side. But Stachura's worshippers, those masses of young people… I was convinced that they had fallen victim of a fraud which Sted[15] offered to them, the fraud being his writings. In the days of socialism nothing was poetry, though he claimed the opposite.[16] (1994: 22; trans. mine)

This unfavorable reception shows that in the end Stachura's apolitical existentialism was political too, since, after all, he was one of the "Children of Our Age," of which Szymborska wrote:

> We are children of our age,
> it's a political age.
> […]
> Whatever you say reverberates,
> whatever you don't say speaks for itself.
> So either way you're talking politics.
> […]
> Apolitical poems are also political,

[14] This was a direct reference to the 1960 tectonic earthquake in Chile, on which Stachura wrote a poem some years earlier (Stachura 1984b: 64).
[15] Sted was the name which Stachura used with friends. It is a compound of the first letters of his surname (Stachura) and his officially adopted as first, although originally his second name Edward. Stachura was impressed when he discovered that in Norwegian *sted* meant "stead, place" (Stachura 2011: 27).
[16] Nurowska refers here to the title which Stachura gave to his literary commentary on society and the times he lived in, *Wszystko jest poezja* (1975), which literally means: All is Poetry.

and above us shines a moon
no longer purely lunar.
(2012: 277)

No doubt, it was this all-encompassing politicisation of life, able to turn even the Moon into the target of the space race between the East and West, which was responsible for the distrust towards Stachura in the opinion-making Polish diaspora in the United States, as well as among home oppositionists. Even Stachura's friend writer, Janusz Anderman, who joined the underground activities soon after the poet's death, analysed the posthumous cult of Stachura in the context of politics:

> As a prose writer and a poet, initially Stachura didn't enjoy huge popularity. His books were almost never republished. Sometimes there appeared a second edition. Such was the case of *Siekierezada*: he didn't meet the submission deadline for another book for which he had received a down payment and so they decided to reissue the novel as a reimbursement. It happened that libraries withdrew his books, since no one read them. […] [After his suicide, d]uring the period of martial law his five-volume *Poezja i proza* was brought out [1982], later reprinted [in 1984 and 1987], but each time it was extremely difficult to get hold of the books. The Museum of Literature in Warsaw organised an exhibition, which attracted people from all over Poland. The teenage press featured countless articles about him and the incessant pilgrimage to his grave in Wólka Węglowa started. Actors wandered the whole country with monodramas, competitions for legions of inspired guitarists were held and there was never enough space for those who wanted to listen to his songs, although in the past they were not popular at all. Libraries allowed access to his books only in reading rooms, since once lent, they were never returned. The cult surged to immense proportions and voices were heard that it was instrumental in channeling the emotions of young sensitive people, providing a vent so much-needed by the government and that therefore Stachura's worship, if not artificially inspired, was left undisturbed. (2000: 15; trans. mine)

Anderman is not fair in his assessment of Stachura's popularity, which, although slowly, was already growing during the poet's lifetime to the extent that the writer himself asked in his diary entry from 26th September 1971: "Why do some people want to make an idol out of me? Do they need it? Are there not enough stars and constellations?" (qtd in: Szyngwelski 2003: 107; trans. mine).[17] Moreover, Anderman remains silent about the fact that, apart from *Siekierezada*, the 1970s saw the reappearance of *Cała jaskrawość*, short stories from *Jeden dzień* and *Falując na wietrze*, as well as poems from *Dużo ognia*.

[17] This entry was not selected for the two-volume edition of Stachura's diaries by Dariusz Pachocki (Stachura 2010b, 2011).

Therefore, contrary to what Anderman claims, there must have been a demand for these books even before Stachura's death.

An unpublished PhD dissertation by Sylwia D. Ejmont, "The Troubadour Takes the Tram: Experience in Polish Poetry and Music" (2008), might be helpful in comprehending the phenomenon of the writer's popularity, especially after his suicide. Ejmont's work is a socio-cultural comparative study of two Polish bards: Edward Stachura and Jacek Kaczmarski and constitutes a valuable source of information on the life and intellectual climate of the Polish People's Republic of the 1960s, '70s and '80s. "The Troubadour Takes the Tram":

> follows select developments in Polish poetry over three decades in order to show how they culminated in the surge of poetic performance activity of the 1980s. The eighties culture in Poland produced an astounding amount and variety of songs – in the styles of rock, cabaret music, sung poetry, and many others. Each style responded and contributed in its own distinct way to the social and political changes that took place over that last decade before the fall of communism in 1989, drawing energy from the frustrations of young people and fueling their desire to transform the world around them. (2008: 1)

The analysis provided by Ejmont helps to answer the question why Stachura is still remembered more as a poet and bard rather than a prose writer. Even more interestingly, she contradicts the myth of Stachura's disengagement from political issues, building her argument upon his poetry and lyrics. The researcher's aim is:

> not only to re-assess Stachura's apparent disinterest in social and/or political issues, but also to reconcile seemingly contradictory strains of his work. While Stachura often hides behind his self-professed simplicity and unwordliness, he does not conceal his opinions on cultural values and the institutions or individuals who propagate them. Neither does he appear ignorant of the processes of artistic or cultural hierarchization; on the contrary, he consciously attempts to influence or even supplant them. (ibid.: 4)

It might be claimed that the process of replacing existing values, mentioned by Ejmont, worked in two ways. Just as Stachura was to some extent successful in promoting his ideals instead of the existing "artistic or cultural hierarchization" (ibid.), his image and the reception of his works have also been changing over time. The most interesting evidence of shifting literary evaluations, dependent on extra-literary factors, comes from Maria Nurowska, who used to dislike Stachura and his works prior to the political changes which started in Poland in 1989. After the collapse of the communist system, she saw the writer in an altogether different light than before:

> Not all is poetry Sted, I thought. Not all. Even freedom, when it finally comes. One can dream about it, write poems, but when it finally arrives it can be equally vile as captivity. My former idols are no longer. When I hear them, follow their deeds, I am taken by empty laughter and terror […]. And Sted… Now is his time. Now he is needed. As a remedy for the cruel capitalism striding across new Poland. As an escape from the stupidity and meanness of politicians, from the everyday deprivation of ordinary people. Sted died too soon! (1994: 22; trans. mine)

What makes Stachura's case especially interesting is that if Cold War politics did not interfere with his efforts to enter the Anglophone literary market, it would have been his short stories and two novels which would have constituted the best translatorial choice, being at once most attractive to the general reader and, compared with his other works, relatively easy to translate.

Since every translation requires mediation between languages and cultures, these two areas constitute the most important literary factors. A translator who embarks on acquainting the Anglophone reader with Stachura's writings must undoubtedly notice his linguistic and aesthetic idiosyncrasies. In Poland, Stachura shocked the more conservative literary milieu and readership with his experimental usage of language by breaking the established rules of Polish syntax and evoking all kinds of strange imagery. Even if, according to more favourable critics and readers, this made Stachura's poetry attractive and unique, his more innovative poems have rarely been considered for translation. The difficulty of rendering Stachura's writings into English would also vary, since his early poetry would be much more daunting to translate than his early prose. For instance, Stachura's long narrative poem *Dużo ognia* (1963) was his second book and first volume of poetry. Just as his debut short-story collection *Jeden dzień* (1962), also *Dużo ognia* was met with an ambiguous critical response. However, while the short stories triggered negative criticism mainly because of the strange literary persona of the protagonist narrator, the poems shocked with their intentional abuse of Polish syntax: the apparent misuse of infinitive verb forms and the omnipresence of uninflected nominative-case nouns. In his review of *Dużo ognia*, Jacek Trznadel ironised the odd syntactic mannerisms employed by Stachura and other young poets playing with the Polish language in a similar style. He wrote:

> A group of contemporary poets, suffering agonizing pains to attain linguistic originality, remind me somehow of the noble savage myth found in travel writing and juvenile fiction from the turn of the century. Some kind of *In Desert and Wilderness*. What I mean here, is the linguistic myth, which makes Kali and Mea use infinitives exclusively ("Kali do, see, cry…") when it comes

> to verbs, thus extremely *simplifying* the syntax of the incomprehensible and too difficult language. What resulted from ineptitude there, here is supposed to result from over-sophistication, from an unrivalled command of language, which, in order to achieve freshness and new, exotic tones, needs to be violated. (1963: 64; trans. mine; emphasis added)

While Trznadel's associations with the children's classic *W pustyni i w puszczy* (1911; *In Desert and Wilderness*, 1912) by Henryk Sienkiewicz might resonate mainly with the Polish reader, the problem of how to translate into English the non-standard forms present in the Polish original of *Dużo ognia* persists. The English language already has a simplified structure, so the effect of defamiliarisation might simply disappear in the rendition of the poem, unless the translator employs compensation strategies. This linguistic barrier must have governed the choice of more standard lyrical pieces by Stachura, rendered so far into English, his songs included.

However, as far as prose is concerned, the absence of book-form English renditions of Stachura's short-story collections, *Jeden dzień* (1962) or *Falując na wietrze* (1966), may not be justified by linguistic difficulties. The same concerns his two novels: *Cała jaskrawość* (1969a) and *Siekierezada* (1971), whose absence is especially striking. Both novels are the outcome of the best period in Stachura's creative life and have already entered the canon of contemporary Polish literature.[18] Although some of the short stories, as well as *Siekierezada*, were rendered into English, they appeared either in periodicals (Stachura 1964, 1967b, 1968b) or have never been published.[19]

It was in Stachura's later prose works that his idiosyncratic language became denser and more idiomatic, the encrypted reflection of the gradual disintegration of the writer's ego. This phenomenon, already signalled in the plot of *Cała jaskrawość* and *Siekierezada*, found its most sophisticated realisation at the linguistic level in the short-story collection *Się* (1977b). Magda Wojnowska's MA thesis entitled: "*Się* by Edward Stachura and Its Degree of

[18] The canonicity of Stachura's novels in Polish culture might be confirmed by the fact that they appeared as part of two popular series distributed by a national daily, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, and a weekly magazine, *Polityka*, both quality press titles. In 2007, *Gazeta Wyborcza* published an audiobook with the Polish Radio adaptation of *Cała jaskrawość* in the "Mistrzowie słowa" (Masters of the Word) series, while in 2009 *Polityka* brought out *Siekierezada* as one of the titles in its "Polska literatura współczesna" (Contemporary Polish Literature) collection. Film rights were also bought for the two novels, although the plans to adapt *Cała jaskrawość* for the big screen in 1977, with Daniel Olbrychski and Piotr Fronczewski in the main roles, finally fell through (Stachura 2006: 286). In 1987, *Siekierezada*, directed by Witold Leszczyński in 1985, was screened at the International Film Festival in Berlin. Specially for this event, Andrzej Pągowski designed a poster which read: "Film Polski presents a film by Witold Leszczyński *Axiliad – Siekierezada*." The screening would presumably have been accompanied by the English-language version of dialogues based on the literary original.

[19] Among the unpublished English translations of Stachura's works there are: the rendition of "Parę kieliszków," most probably carried out by Stefan Ehrenkreutz (Stachura 2011: 316), and *Axing or the Winter of the Forest Folk*, a translation of *Siekierezada* done by Andrzej Duszenko (Buchowski 2014: 593).

Translatability into English" (2003), provides an in-depth analysis of the problem of rendering the reflexive pronoun *się*, used by Stachura in the function of a subject in some of the stories from the *Się* collection.[20] This time the atypical use of the *się* pronoun was charged not only with a syntactic challenge, but also with a crucial philosophical dimension, none of which, ideally, should be lost on the target reader.

In her study, indispensible to any translator who would like to embark on rendering these texts into English, Wojnowska took into account the intertextual relations of *Się* and Stachura's pseudo-quotations from *Wszystko jest poezja* (1975), passages from his diaries, as well as his mystical texts: *Fabula rasa* (1979) and *Oto* (1980a). This background was necessary in order to introduce the writer's philosophy and to demonstrate the process of deconstruction to which he submitted his self, undergoing the consecutive stages of his *alter ego personae* (Edmund Szerucki, Janek Pradera, Michał Kątny);[21] the use of the impersonal reflexive pronoun *się* from the collection of the same title, which replaced the self-assured "I"; and the state of "man-nobody," the narrator of *Fabula rasa* and *Oto*.

Although in the light of Wojnowska's findings, translating *się* into Slavonic languages would have a high degree of equivalence, rendering it into English proved extremely complicated. The researcher tested such substitutes of *się* as: "I," "self," "myself," "one," "nobody," "somebody" and the generic "you," but none of them could at the same time fulfil the syntactic and philosophical requirements of the Polish word. Finally, Wojnowska suggested that the best solution might be to leave the untranslated pronoun *się* in the English-language text (Wojnowska 2003: 70).[22]

The linguistic factor also proved to be an obstacle which thwarted Stachura's ambitions to enter Anglophone literature via translation in a different, more direct sense. His insufficient command of English prevented him from employing the strategy of self- or co-

[20] In the appendix to her thesis Wojnowska attached translations of selected short stories from the *Się* collection: "Słodycz i jad" ("Sweetness and Venom," two excerpts), "Się" ("Się"), "Słuchanie" ("Listening"), "Iście" ("Footing"), a song "Nie Brookliński most" ("Not the Brooklyn Bridge" from the story "El condor pasa"), a poem "Dwa Michały" from "Wesele" ("The Wedding"), and the text "Lekcya języka angielskiego" ("A Lesson of English") (Wojnowska 2003: 71-83).

[21] Edmund Szerucki is the narrator and one of the two main characters in *Cała jaskrawość*, while Janek Pradera is the protagonist and narrator in *Siekierezada*, who at some point reminisces about his past meeting with Szerucki (Stachura 1971: 148-151) and who becomes friends with Michał Kątny towards the end of the novel (ibid.: 219 et passim). Kątny, in turn, resurfaces at times as the character-narrator in some of the stories in the *Się* collection, which are otherwise told from the perspective of the impersonal being 'się.' In the 1970s, Stachura used to assume the persona of Kątny when sending postcards addressed to himself. See Attachment 23 (p. 402).

[22] A famous example of a keyword transference, essential to the idiom of the author, as well as to the original text, is Gombrowicz's *pupa*, left intact in the English-language version of *Ferdydurke* in Danuta Borhardt's translation (Gombrowicz 2000). In 2001, this rendition was awarded by the American Literary Translators Association. However, Benjamin Paloff remains skeptical about this translatorial solution (Paloff 2010: 82).

translation in a manner similar to the Spanish and French renditions of his works.[23] During his two sojourns in Mexico, first on a stipend at the National Autonomous University of Mexico between May 1969 and March 1970 (Stachura 2010b: 55-102) and then on a private visit between 1st January 1975 and 31st March 1975 (Stachura 2011: 206-227), Stachura used his knowledge of Spanish[24] to translate his own poetry and prose (Stachura 1969b, 1970, 1973a, 1974, 1976a, 1976b),[25] as well as lyrical works of other Polish poets (Babiński 1973; Czychowski 1973; Krynicki 1970, 1976; Roszewski 1970, 1976; Różański 1970, 1976; Żernicki 1970, 1976; Żurakowski 1970, 1976),[26] which he did in collaboration with his newly acquired Mexican friends. Most of these Spanish-language renditions were consequently published in Mexican journals and anthologies, while a book featuring Stachura's long poem, *Que devore la langosta el jardín*, was published by the University of Veracruz in 1976. Mercedes Escamilla's Spanish translation of *Siekierezada*, in parts consulted with Stachura, was less fortunate, with only fragments of it available in print (Stachura 1976a, Heredia 2007).[27] The Mexican translator gave an account of what such cooperation looked like:

> I translated the whole *Siekierezada* and, during Edward's last visit to Mexico City (in the 70's), worked with him checking the accuracy of it. He went to our place every afternoon and worked with me for two-three hours daily but we managed to cover only a small part. I still have the original.[28]

After Stachura's death, the friendships which the Polish writer formed in Mexico resulted in the publication of the Spanish translation of his "Letter to the Remaining"

[23] In 1977, Stachura translated into French, with help from Michel Deguy, his mystical text *Fabula rasa* (Stachura 2007: 317 et passim). The following year he tried to find, to no avail, a French publisher for the book (Pawłowska-Skibińska 2007: 31). After the French rendition, Stachura planned to start the Spanish one (ibid.: 30). However, this was never realised because of the writer's worsening mental state. So far, *Fabula rasa* has been published only in German translation by Agnes Eva Freisler and Peter Lachmann (Stachura 2002a), as a result of a private enterprise by Stachura's German friend (personal communication from Peter Lachmann).

[24] Stachura started learning Spanish while a student at the University of Warsaw (Buchowski 2014: 83, 333) and perfected his command of it at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (Papis 1989: 8-9). A good knowledge of French was certainly of help to Stachura in acquiring another Romance language.

[25] I would like to thank Dr Iwona Kasperska for her help in collecting this bibliography.

[26] Thanks here are also due to Dr Iwona Kasperska for her help in collecting this bibliography.

[27] The fragment of *Siekierezada* published in the literary journal *La Palabra y el Hombre* (Stachura 1976a) and reprinted in Luis Horacio Heredia's *Antología de narrativa y poesía polacas* (2007) has also been included in the anonymous online compilation *Antología del cuento polaco contemporáneo*: http://pl.scribd.com/doc/60823159/VV-AA-Antologia-Del-Cuento-Polaco-Contemporaneo. Sergio Pitol figures as the editor and translator of this collection, albeit the foreword comes from the 1967 book edition of the anthology (Pitol 1967: 9-14), which did not contain Stachura's texts. Two excerpts from Escamilla's translation of *Siekierezada*, typewritten and annotated by Stachura, can be found in the Manuscripts Department of the Museum of Literature in Warsaw: *El Hache-Sheherazada o el invierno de los hombres del bosque* and *La mano invisible*.

[28] Email communication from Mercedes Escamilla, 16th August 2014.

(Stachura 1981), as well as in reprints of his works in translation (Heredia 2007, Pitol and Mendoza 2012) and translations which he did of other poets' writings (Heredia 2007).

Stachura's experience in the United States of America was very different from his stay in Mexico. The writer went to the USA in September 1974, remaining on the American continent until April 1975 (Stachura 2011, 188-242).[29] His visit to the US was possible thanks to Professor Barbara Czochralska, "the Biophysicist" from Stachura's *Wszystko jest poezja* (1975), who was the real *spiritus movens* behind his going to Ann Arbor (Czochralska 2006: 75-76). After unsuccessful attempts at obtaining an invitation for Stachura from Andrzej Ehrenkreutz, Professor at the University of Michigan, who presided over the local Polish diaspora, as well as from Donald Hall, the American poet and lecturer at the same university (ibid.: 63-64), Czochralska advised her friend to try his luck with the International Writing Program coordinators at the University of Iowa (Buchowski 2014: 413-414), this to no avail too (ibid.: 429).

The person who gave Stachura a helping hand and finally sent the required official invitation was Professor Henryk Skolimowski from the University of Michigan, where the writer was allowed to follow an independent study programme (Czochralska 2006: 76). For Stachura, the fact that the programme was devoid of financial support from the American side, constituted an advantage, for it meant freedom from servitude. The writer was able to fund his expenses from the money he received as a literary award from the Kościelski Foundation in 1972 and from recitals of his songs (Buchowski 2014: 416-418).

Stachura's insufficient knowledge of English, indispensible for fluent communication or for self-translation, was not the only hindrance awaiting him in the United States. Unlike in Mexico, in the US his literary creativity was met with very limited interest, either because of political concerns, or because of the general lack of openness to cultures and literary traditions from Eastern Europe, other than Russian, or even to literature as such. Jarosław Anders thus reminisced about the process of his adaptation to the American mentality:

> I remember a conversation I had with an editor of one of the leading intellectual periodicals. Having glanced at my manuscript of what was supposed to be a book review, he sighed and said something like, "Jarek, you must remember that for our readers literature is important. But for God's sake, it is not the most important thing in their life!" At that moment I realized the true extent of my dislocation. I was among people who, with the exception of a handful of professionals, usually had more important things in their lives than

[29] In the meantime the poet visited Mexico for the second time (Stachura 2011: 206-227).

> ideas and the printed word. And that was exactly the kind of people that literature and most of literary criticism was written for! (2009: xiv)

Just as Stachura's first visit to the American continent was marked by his composing of *Siekierezada* (Stachura 2011: 56 *et passim*), the second one was connected with the writer's efforts to have it rendered into and published in Spanish and in English. While his Mexican friend, Mercedes Escamilla, embarked on the project and authored the Spanish translation of the whole book, in the end published only in fragments, the other ambition failed at the very beginning. In his diary entry from 11th November 1974, Stachura noted: "Call Prof. Welsh, take my text back,[30] bring *Siekierezada*" (Stachura 2011: 199). At that time Professor David John Welsh was the director of Polish Studies at the University of Michigan. If we take into account that five years earlier, in 1969, Welsh translated *Czarny potok* (1954) by Leopold Buczkowski, the writer whom Stachura considered his master,[31] and that in 1970, during the 2nd International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature in Warsaw, Welsh was awarded by ZAiKS for his translation achievements, it becomes clear why Stachura wanted this particular translator to take interest in his book.

In the papers left by Professor Welsh in Ann Arbor, after he retired to his native England in 1983, there was no trace of Stachura's writings.[32] Did Welsh deem *Siekierezada* unworthy of rendition? Did he think that the novel would not be of interest to the English-language reader and/or publisher? Unfortunately, no answers to these questions are left and we may only speculate as to the potential reactions of the publishing circles in the United States. Most probably in the Cold War days Stachura's apolitical treatment of daily life in Poland, as well as his existential questions, common to people living on both sides of the Iron Curtain, were not at all what Western publishers wanted.

What is especially striking about the translation patterns of Stachura's works before 1989 is that while in the West his writings were not perceived as belonging to opposition literature, in the communist bloc they were often treated as such, notwithstanding the author's intentions. There, the actual reception of Stachura's novels frequently took a political dimension, as they stood for victory of personal freedom over systemic oppression. Practically unknown on the Western side of the Iron Curtain, *Siekierezada* was translated into Hungarian (Stachura 1973b, later reprinted in 1990 and 2012), Slovak (Stachura 1977a),

[30] Unfortunately, I have not managed to determine which text Stachura had in mind.
[31] It is no coincidence that the name adopted by one of Stachura's literary *alter egos*, Edmund Szerucki from *Cała jaskrawość*, was derived from Buczkowski's character in *Czarny potok*, Kuba Szerucki.
[32] Email communication from Professor Bogdana Carpenter, 3rd December 2013.

Czech (Stachura 1980b) and Bulgarian (Stachura 1980c). Apart from the translation quotas which had to be met in socialist countries (Sobolewska 2015: 83), this was certainly the result of a similar experience of the peoples living in the Soviet sphere of influence. On the other hand, publishing the novel in the West would have been connected with an excessive financial risk. Moreover, *Siekierezada* was not only apolitical. Although treating about love, it was also almost asexual.[33] In her research on Dutch novels translated into English between 1961 and 1980, Ria Vanderauwera noticed that:

> only one Dutch novel in the period considered achieved bestseller status – *I Jan Cremer* (Dutch 1964; English 1965). At the very outset, the book's sexual explicitness and its (intended) resemblance to the work of Henry Miller (then widely circulating) promised commercial success, and its publishers were quite ready to spend considerable sums to promote the book. (1985: 199)

Stachura, whose vision of love was sublimated to the extent of the platonic ideal, certainly did not fulfil the mainstream requirements of the Anglo-American publishing market in this respect.

The only person ready to engage in translating Stachura's writings into English during his stay in the USA was Stefan Ehrenkreutz, an American composer of Polish origin, son of Andrzej Ehrenkreutz, who had previously declined Barbara Czochralska's request of inviting Stachura to Ann Arbor on the grounds of his being "supported by the communist regime" (Czochralska 2006: 63). Traces and examples of the artists' cooperation can be found in Stachura's diaries (Stachura 2011: 230, 233-235), as well as in his letters to Danuta Pawłowska (Stachura 2007: 40-43, 63). The preserved translations are represented exclusively by songs. The gradual disintegration of Stachura's personality and his worsening mental condition resulted in his destroying many letters, photographs and other papers, among them possibly some of the renditions authored by Ehrenkreutz. The entry from Stachura's diary, dated 8th April 1975, reads:

[33] In contrast to peasant prose narratives by Marian Pilot, Tadeusz Nowak or even Wiesław Myśliwski, Edward Stachura abstained from scenes, sexual ones included, involving cruelty against women. *Siekierezada* contains a passage in which a man in a local bar wants to sell the narrator, Janek Pradera, an officer's belt, which he touts by saying: "When you sock your woman with it, she'll sure feel it." Pradera, angered, responds: "If I ever hit her, I'll cut my hand off and then throw myself under a train" (Stachura 1971: 114). Even the famous axing scene, in which the local character, Kaziuk, rages about an unfaithful woman, depicts the aggressive channelling of his painful fury upon tables gathered for a dance at the firehouse, rather than upon the woman (Stachura 1971: 207-210).

1. Get stamps at the post office.
2. To Donald Hall[34] at 12 am and maybe to the lecture at Rackham Building.
3. To Arboretum and to the Huron River.
4. Meet Stefan [Ehrenkreutz] at 6 pm in David's Books.
5. To the Int[ernationa]l Center – maybe the letters arrived. On the way see Hall (let him check the text of *Everything is poetry* [*Wszystko jest poezja*]). (Stachura 2011: 233; trans. mine)

The fragment of *Wszystko jest poezja* which Stachura collected from Stefan Ehrenkreutz and took to Donald Hall to be proofread must have been "Rzeka," which contained Stachura's commandments on how to live a decent life (ibid.: 230). In a conversation with Dariusz Pachocki, Stefan Ehrenkreutz remembered:

> In America I translated one of his [Stachura's] texts. It was probably a part of *Wszystko jest poezja*. I even remember how angry he was when I kept changing it to »Wszystko jest poezją«. And he would get angry and say: »No, Wszystko jest poezja«.[35] (qtd in: Stachura 2011: 233, n. 317; trans. mine)

It was Ehrenkreutz too, who rendered into English the songs which Stachura performed in Michigan and Detroit (Buchowski 2014: 427, 592). In the entry from 11th November 1974 the poet wrote: "Send the English versions of the songs to Detroit" (Stachura 2011: 199). The concert took place on 23rd November 1974 at the Wayne State University. On this occasion Stachura met Edmund Ordon, Professor of Slavonic languages and translator of Polish literature, who left a very negative impression on the writer (ibid.: 200).[36] As a result, the range of his potential translation or publishing partners also diminished because of personal dislikes.

The reproduction of one of the letters to Danuta Pawłowska, dated 2nd January 1976, shows on the right-hand page that the letter was written around the English rendition of the song "Jest już za późno, nie jest za późno" ("Now It's Too Late, It's Not Too Late"). On the left-hand page there is a translation of another song, known in Polish as "Nowy dekalog"[37]

[34] Donald Hall (b. 1928) is an American writer of poetry, drama and prose, editor and literary critic. Between 1957 and 1975 he taught at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. He declined issuing an invitation to Stachura justifying his decision by the fact that the writer did not belong to the PEN Club (Czochralska 2006: 64).

[35] The title *Wszystko jest poezja*, featuring the uninflected noun "poezja," instead of the standard "poezją," violates the rules of Polish grammar.

[36] In 1965, Edmund Ordon took part in the 1st International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature organised by the Author's Agency in Warsaw, in which Andrzej Lam gave a paper entitled "Najmłodsza literatura polska," which discussed the works of young Polish writers. Among other authors debuting after 1962, Lam mentioned Edward Stachura (Lam 1965: 61).

[37] "Człowiek człowiekowi, czyli dziesięć wskazań i dziesięć przeciwwskazań dla ciebie, sieroto nieboża, Zygmusiu K." is an alternative title of the song.

and rendered as "The New Decalogue" (Stachura 2007: 39-43). The letter was sent from Krynica, where Stachura arranged a meeting with Ehrenkreutz, who was then in Poland, working on his violin concerto and rendering Stachura's writings into English in his free time. In the letter from 14th January 1976 Stachura wrote to Danuta Pawłowska: "I recall one night in the attic of 816 Packard [Street] in Ann Arbor, Michigan, when I wrote the song 'Tobie albo zawieja w Michigan.' […] Stefan came in the evening and translated it on the spot when I sang it to him" (ibid.: 63; trans. mine). Another record of this event and the actual translation of the song can be found in the entry from 8th April 1975 in the second volume of Stachura's diaries (2011: 234-235). Ehrenkreutz must also have been the author of the English version of "Parę kieliszków" (2011: 316), a short story from Stachura's third book, *Falując na wietrze* (1966). Why Stachura chose this particular piece for translation into English and French[38] ten years after it had been composed remains a mystery. The story contains a description of a "little Buddha," a boy sitting inside a flat on a window sill, contemplating the world from above, while the story's protagonist observes the child sitting in a nearby bar. Did Stachura discover in this scene the foreshadowing of his later fascination with Zen philosophy? Perhaps he tried to exorcise the ghost of his miserable love for his ex-wife, Zyta Oryszyn, in the hope of recovering from it completely, just as he succeeded in getting over his unfulfilled first love for Anna Laura Dzięgo, mention of which we find in the story.

Notwithstanding the fact that none of the English translations of Stachura's works initiated by the author himself was brought out in print, numerous renditions by Polish and Anglophone translators, functioning on the margins of the mainstream literary scene, prove that the linguistic factor could not have been decisive in excluding the publication of his books in English. So far, the most representative selection of Stachura's writings in English translation is available on the website created by Andrzej Duszenko (1995), Professor at Northern State University in South Dakota. The renditions presented there range from poems, short stories and a fragment of *Siekierezada*, to excerpts from *Fabula rasa*, composed in the period of the writer's prophetic madness, to Stachura's suicide note, written in the form of a poetic farewell letter.[39] This wide sampling of Stachura's creativity was certainly possible

[38] The French translation was done in October 1977 by Robert Abirached, an essayist, literary critic and lecturer at the University of Caen in France (Pachocki 2013: 75).

[39] Among texts translated into English by Professor Duszenko are: a fragment of *Siekierezada albo Zima leśnych ludzi* (*Axing or the Winter of the Forest Folk*); four short stories: "Jeden dzień" ("One Day"), "Listy do Olgi" ("Letters to Olga"), "Jasny pobyt nadrzeczny" ("Bright Stay on the River"), "Pokocham ją siłą woli" ("With My Willpower I'll Fall in Love with Her"); eleven poems: "Metamorfoza" ("Metamorphosis"), [Odnalazły się marzenia …] [Dreams were found …], "Zabawy dziecięce" ("Children's Games"), [Co noc …] [Each night …], [W kontemplacji aluminium …] [In contemplating aluminum …], "Skandynawia" ("Scandinavia"), "Próba wniebowstąpienia" ("Attempt at Ascension"), [Niebo to jednak studnia…] [The sky is a well after all …],

thanks to the internet medium, in which publishing does not have to cost anything, nor does it have to comply to the same rules as commercial businesses. Although the internet ensures wide and fast distribution, as well as an almost infinite capacity for the published content, it still functions on the margins of mainstream literature and literary criticism. Moreover, similarly to Mercedes Escamilla, Stachura's Mexican translator, Duszenko, who translated the whole of *Siekierezada* into English, could not find a publisher for the novel (Buchowski 2014: 593).

The notion of marginality also applies to other translations rendered throughout the last decade by both Polish and English native speakers who devoted their efforts to introducing Stachura's literary output to the Anglophone readership. Recently, most of the writer's songs have been given their English versions by Graham Crawford, a singer and English language teacher at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. So far unpublished,[40] they can be heard at Crawford's concerts. Crawford is also the author of a paper devoted to this part of Stachura's creative output (2008). In Poland, Stachura's songs are constantly reinterpreted and recorded by various artists. In 2012, the alternative band Babu Król published a volume entitled *STED*, in which Stachura's lyrics are presented in a completely new musical setting. The musicians also intend to record the English covers of the songs (Mrozowska 2012), which have been translated by Andrzej Wojtasik (Babu Król 2012).[41] Hannah Harvester, the American theatrologist and folklorist, is yet another author of an unpublished rendition of Stachura's text. Harvester rendered the writer's long poem *Missa pagana* for the drama group Teatr Wiejski "Węgajty."[42]

In Canada, Stachura and his writings were first introduced through the medium of French, with English playing a secondary role in the adoption of the writer's works. Inspired by the French rendition of Stachura's ultimate prose piece *Pogodzić się ze światem* (1984c) by Laurence Dyèvre (Stachura 1991), the Canadian writer, Sylvie Nicolas, published a book of poetic prose devoted to the Polish poet (2004). In 2013, Bernard Émond, moved by Stachura's biography and his last notes, directed a French-language film *Tout ce que tu*

"Jesień" ("Autumn"), "Zachód słońca w Prowansji" ("Sunset in Provence"), "Pejzaż" ("Landscape"); "List do pozostałych" ("A Letter to the Remaining"); an excerpt from *Fabula rasa*; Stachura's autobiographical note from the jacket flap of the second edition of *Cała Jaskrawość* (*All the Brightness*); his highly original *curriculum vitae* and a commentary by Andrzej Moszczyński, which contains a fragment of *Kropka nad Ypsylonem* (Duszenko 1995).

[40] The renditions were sent to me courtesy of the translator.

[41] Based on interviews with the band and the information contained in the acknowledgements ("Podziękowania") on the inside of the CD cover.

[42] The unpublished text of the translation was sent to me courtesy of the translator. I would like to thank Professor Michał Jacek Mikoś for the information about Hannah Harvester's translation of *Missa pagana*.

possèdes, distributed with English subtitles as *All That You Possess*. The leading male character in the film occupies himself with translating Stachura's poetry. For the purposes of the film, several poems by the Polish writer were translated into French by Barbara Séguin and into English by Aurelia Klimkiewicz, Professor at York University in Toronto.

An interesting form in which Stachura's lyrical pieces exist in English translation, and at the same time in the Polish townscape, are renditions of two of his songs: "Dookoła mgła" ("Through the Mist") and "Opadły mgły, wstaje nowy dzień" ("A New Day"), sculpted in the main façade of the Municipal Public Library in Opole. The translations were done by two poets: Jacek Gutorow and David Kennedy. Apart from the bilingual versions of the two songs, three more lyrical pieces by Stachura decorate the library: "Piosenka dla Rafała Urbana," "Architektura" and "Uspokojenie." The building was designed by Małgorzata and Andrzej Zatwarnicki and it was the latter who made the selection of the texts. The architect justified his choice by saying that Stachura was the cult writer in his young days (Kuc 2011). This example proves that sentiment strongly influences the reception of Stachura's works in Poland.

Although Stachura's early poems were quite naive, his long narrative *Wszystko jest poezja* intentionally verbose, and his mystical-prophetic writings, such as *Fabula rasa* and *Oto*, disquieting for many of his readers, all these works become meaningful when we realise Stachura's phenomenon in its entirety. Only the writer's *oeuvre* as a whole enables the comprehension of his personal and artistic development. Stachura could not or did not want to distance himself from the existential dimension of life and death, therefore the ultimate questions always were at the core of his literary creation.

However, in the case of a translation project aimed at introducing Edward Stachura to the mainstream of English-language publishing, the selection of his writings should be guided by literary and financial criteria, unless some idealist would like to invest in the rendition of the Polish writer's complete works.[43] The two novels by Stachura: *Cała jaskrawość* and *Siekierezada* would be a good start. They are universal enough to be of interest to the Anglophone reader, even if they preserve a strong local element of their setting in Poland of the 1960s, which nowadays could actually be perceived as more of an advantage than an obstacle. They are also much more approachable for translators than Stachura's early poetry or late prose pieces, including his short-story collection *Się* or his mystical text *Fabula rasa*.

[43] The German edition of *Fabula rasa* (Stachura 2002a) has such an idealistic origin, as it was not planned as a commercial success (personal communication from Peter Lachmann). The publication was co-financed by the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation.

Moreover, the choice of *Cała jaskrawość* and *Siekierezada* should provide a welcome balance to the songs and poems which at present dominate the English translations of Stachura's writings both in and out of mainstream publishing.

In 2008, Bill Johnston received from the Polish Book Institute the first Found in Translation Award for his English renditions of Tadeusz Różewicz's poetry.[44] Among others, the awarded collection contained a piece entitled "poor Stachura the poet."[45] Written in September 2003, it read:

> near the unclean channel
> of the Vistula
> a herd of sows and boars were grazing
> alongside Apollo's children
>
> to this cafeteria
> there came from a far country
> Janko the musician a lad possessed by poetry
> he cast pearls before swine
> sang played on a golden comb
> till he heard voices
> and went mad
>
> he was like a butterfly
> in a spider web
>
> I talked with him
> just one time
> at a writer's retreat
> he stood in the door
> of my room
> and asked for a sheet
> of paper
>
> I told him I had
> only squared
> recycled paper
> he gave a polite smile
> thanked me
> and left
> with three sheets
>
> sometimes I think he meant
> something else

[44] See Appendix 1 (p. 295).
[45] See Attachment 24 (p. 403).

that he meant his and my
and our life
(Różewicz 2007: 149-150)

Without English-language translations of Stachura's books not only is the Anglophone readership of Różewicz's poem left in the dark about its protagonist, but also devoid of the pleasure of reading works by one of the most interesting apolitical Polish writers living and creating in the political days of the Cold War period. It is high time to fill in this gap and publish Stachura's best prose and poetry in English.

3.2. (Post-)Peasant Prose: Between Tradition and Modernity

Until 1991, the year in which *The Palace*, Ursula Phillip's translation of *Pałac* (1970) by Wiesław Myśliwski was published, prose works belonging to the rich and varied trend in Polish literature, collectively referred to by Henryk Bereza as *nurt chłopski* (Bereza 1970: 1, 10),[46] meaning the peasant trend or current, remained virtually unknown to the English-language reader. The origins of this literary trend must be associated with the social and economic transformation of the Polish rural village, initiated in the interwar period and accelerated by the post-war land reform, mass education and migrations to towns, accompanied by the demise of the old peasant customs and way of life.

In contrast to traditional depictions of the Polish countryside and its inhabitants, hitherto delivered by writers who did not come from the peasantry themselves, works representative of the literary trend distinguished by Bereza sprang from the peasant roots and the dual, rural-urban identity of their authors. In an attempt to name this phenomenon, most critics initially referred to it as *literatura o tematyce wiejskiej*, literature with a rural theme, or as *literatura wiejska*, rural literature. However, Bereza felt that the mono-thematic limitation hidden in such terms did injustice to the narratives in question, which, more often than not, focused on such existential issues as the rising self-awareness and inner development of the (former) peasant protagonist or on the hero's social advancement in modern society and their ensuing identity conflict. The designate *nurt chłopski*, proposed by Bereza, intentionally redirected the focus from the simple portrayal of rural village life, which he feared was

[46] Bereza's article "Nurt chłopski w prozie," originally published in *Tygodnik Kulturalny* (Bereza 1970), was reprinted in his collection of critical essays *Związki naturalne* (Bereza 1972: 5-17 and 1978b: 7-18). Whereas the second edition of the book was largely expanded, the text about Kazimierz Orłoś (b. 1935) was removed by the censor's office, since the writer decided to have his novel, *Cudowna melina* (1973), brought out by the Literary Institute in Paris after it had been rejected from publication in Poland. The ban on writings by Orłoś continued until the fall of communism in 1989.

implied by the other terms, to the peasant roots of the writers, which defined their literary sensitivity and perception of the world. Moreover, Bereza claimed that even the term *literatura chłopska*, peasant literature, was a misnomer in the post-war Polish reality. He noted:

> If the thematic classification fails us, maybe we should go back to the social classification and reanimate the term *literatura chłopska*? The point against this term, however, is not in the possible connotations with naive, folk literature, but in the lofty associations with literature pertaining to knights, the gentry or bourgeoisie together with its complete philosophical, aesthetic and social equipment. Yet, peasant culture had never created literature like that and it never will.[47] Because of these misleading connotations the term *literatura chłopska* should be substituted by the term *nurt chłopski w literaturze*, the peasant trend in literature. (1978b: 8; trans. mine)

Bereza's terminological postulate was successful only to some extent, since the expression *proza chłopska*, peasant prose, is still widely used alongside his *nurt chłopski*, the peasant trend.[48] Even though compliant with Bereza's observation that: "Peasant culture had never created literature like that [of knights, noblemen or bourgeoisie] and it never will"

[47] There exist, however, apart from a rich folk literature, other written accounts, to which the term *literatura chłopska*, peasant literature, fully applies, for example: Ludwik Krzywicki (ed.), *Pamiętniki chłopów: nr 1-51* [Serja 1], Warszawa: Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego, 1935 and *Pamiętniki chłopów: Serja 2*, Warszawa: Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego, 1936, Elsa Bernaut, "Polish Peasant Autobiographies," unpublished PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1950, Witold Kula, Nina Assorodobraj-Kula and Marcin Kula (eds), *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych 1890-1891*, Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1973 and Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego and Instytut Studiów Iberyjskich i Iberoamerykańskich UW, 2012 (revised edition), published in English as: *Writing Home: Immigrants in Brazil and the United States: 1890-1891*, trans. by Josephine Wtulich, Boulder: East European Monographs, 1986. In his inaugural lecture, delivered on the occasion of the 3rd World Congress of Translators of Polish Literature in Kraków, Wiesław Myśliwski said: "Many a time, without any literary awareness, Polish peasants created literature. To my mind, everything may be literature, every human note, every story, even a single sentence. For literature, the division into genres and forms is meaningless" (Myśliwski 2013). See also: "Odzyskane źródła" (Bereza 1978b: 19-27) and Myśliwski 2003. On the other hand, the 19th-century popularity of folk literature was the reason behind the English rendition of Slavic peasant tales collected and documented in French by Aleksander Chodźko (1804-1891): *Fairy Tales of the Slav Peasants and Herdsmen*, translated from the French and illustrated by Emily J. Harding, London: G. Allen, 1896, reprinted in 1972 in New York by Kraus Reprint.

[48] These terminological nuances become even more complicated by English-language scholarship on Russian literature. In her *Russian Village Prose: The Radiant Past* (1992), Kahtleen F. Parthé envisions "a *spectrum* of Soviet Russian literature on rural themes with the Socialist Realist kolkhoz novel at one end, and Russian Village Prose at the other" (1992: 4). However, it is vital to note that the spectrum proposed by Parthé is of a diachronic nature, since what she and Russian historiographers call *derevenskaia proza*, village prose, critical of kolkhoz life and collectivisation, was only possible after Stalin's death. Interestingly, Russian historiography distinguishes between the pre-war (but post-revolutionary) *krestianskaia proza*, meaning peasant prose, and *derevenskaia proza*, which translates as village prose, composed in the Soviet Union in the years 1960-1980. In their works on Polish literature, Russian historiographers adhere to the latter term, *derevenskaia proza*, when they mean the peasant trend in Polish prose of the 1960s and 1970s, while researchers in Poland use the term *proza wiejska*, village or rural prose, mainly in connection with 19th- and early 20th-century Polish writers.

(ibid.), the term "post-peasant prose," used tentatively in the title of this section, also runs the risk of being too comprehensive if used outside a limited and clearly defined context.

As far as prose is concerned, Bereza identified the beginnings of the peasant trend in novels by Jan Wiktor (1890-1967), Władysław Kowalski (1894-1958), Stanisław Czernik (1899-1969), Stanisław Piętak (1909-1964) and Józef Morton (1911-1994), whose narratives had already appeared before the outbreak of the Second World War (ibid.: 11). After the military conflict was over, these and other writers of the pre-1920 generation continued to explore the countryside theme, at the same time exceeding its traditional limits. Noteworthy is the fact that unlike in Russia, Polish literature did not produce many kolkhoz novels. Only a handful of works like this appeared during the period of socialist realism and agrarian collectivisation, and should not be associated with peasant-trend narratives.[49]

With the advance of new writers who derived their roots from the rural village, literary works which ascribe to the peasant trend became more and more abundant, no doubt the result of the post-war social revolution. Luckily for them, novelists and poets born in the 1930s were free from tributes to socialist realism, something which older writers did not always manage to avoid, the blessing of a changed political reality. Even more importantly, they were free from feudal tributes to the rigidly codified literary norms imposed on the first generation of post-peasant writers, forced to renounce their own aesthetics by those who decided what literature should be like (Bereza 1978b: 12-13). Hence, the 1960s and '70s in Polish literature witnessed the eruption of written *mowa żywa*, natural speech, typical of traditional oral cultures, among them rural ones (Bereza 1978a: 6-7; Myśliwski 2013).

Some of the most significant titles belonging to the peasant trend, as defined by Bereza, include *Obcoplemienna ballada* (1963) and *A jak królem, a jak katem będziesz* (1968) by Tadeusz Nowak (1930-1991); *Tańczący jastrząb* (1964) and *Przepłyniesz rzekę* (1973) by Julian Kawalec (1916-2014); *Postoje pamięci* (1964) by Urszula Kozioł (b. 1931); *Nagi sad*

[49] For example *Traktory zdobędą wiosnę* (1950; Tractors Will Conquer the Spring) by Witold Zalewski (1921-2009). For more books of this kind see Wojciech Tomasik, *Polska powieść tendencyjna 1949-1955: problemy perswazji literackiej*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1988. Notwithstanding the slogans about the worker-peasant alliance, the position of peasants in the Polish People's Republic was often ambiguous, going through several major transformations during the post-war years, starting with the land reform (1944-1948), through the period of compulsory collectivisation in the stalinist era (1948-1955), when land was taken from peasants and incorporated into agricultural cooperatives, to the official recognition of private farming after Władysław Gomułka came to power in 1956. From then on, private farms coexisted with state farms (in operation since 1949) and a small number of remaining farm cooperatives. Until 1957, peasants were not allowed to celebrate "Peasant's Day" and the communist regime prohibited the teaching of the important role which the Bataliony Chłopskie (Peasant Battalions) played during the Second World War (Proch 1957a: 159, 163, 166, 169, 172).

(1967), *Pałac* (1970) and *Kamień na kamieniu* (1984) by Wiesław Myśliwski (b. 1932);[50] *Jeden dzień* (1962) and *Cała jaskrawość* (1969) by Edward Stachura (1937-1979); *Najada* (1970) by Zyta Oryszyn (b. 1940); *Konopielka* (1973) and *Awans* (1973) by Edward Redliński (b. 1940); or *Panny szczerbate* (1962) by Marian Pilot (b. 1936). The distinguishing mark of this literature is its language, springing from two sources: the authors' experience of life in the country, lived among people for whom the oral tradition was still more common than the written word, and from the authors', and sometimes also their parents', formal education.

Even if superior to the purely thematic classification, the criterion of peasant genealogy adopted by Bereza is problematic too, since peasant roots neither determined writers to transpose their country-life experience into literature, nor were they of the same kind.[51] To what extent the authors of the post-war works classified by the critic as illustrative of the rustic trend identified themselves with the peasant tradition is also debatable. *En bloc*, works by Sławomir Mrożek (1930-2013) would not be associated with peasant narratives, but his grotesque short stories "Z ciemności"[52] or "Wesele w Atomicach"[53] fulfil the requirements of the countryside setting and the author's rural roots. On the other hand, the social class criterion excluded Maria Dąbrowska (1889-1965) and her story "Na wsi wesele,"[54] a skilful portrayal of the postwar Polish rural village, in which the writer realistically presented the long-awaited land reform, the peasants' fear of collectivisation, and the influence of the urban

[50] In fact, Myśliwski's greatest literary achievement, the modern peasant epic *Kamień na kamieniu* (1984) represents a post-peasant trend narrative, *powieść postnurtowa*, as the date of the publication and the author himself indicate (Janowska 2008: 63). Others classify it as the last work of its kind, crowning the whole trend (Bugajski 1983: 9).

[51] Edward Stachura is a notable example. Although the writer was deeply attached to the countryside and although his parents had peasant origins, his own identity and literary creation was much more complex. For a case study on this writer see Chapter Three, 3.1. Edward Stachura: (A)political Existentialism.

[52] From: Sławomir Mrożek, *Słoń*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1957, 7-10. Published in English as: "From the Darkness" [in:] Sławomir Mrożek, *The Elephant*, trans. by Konrad Syrop, New York, NY: Grove Press, 1962, 7-10.

[53] From: Sławomir Mrożek, *Wesele w Atomicach*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1959, 117-123. Published in English as: "The Wedding at Atomice," trans. by Marcus Wheeler, [in:] Maria Kuncewicz (ed.), *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today*, Boston; Toronto: Little, Brown & Co, 1962, 412-415 and "A Wedding in Atom Town" [in:] Sławomir Mrożek, *The Ugupu Bird*, trans. by Konrad Syrop, London: Macdonald, 1968, 23-25.

[54] From: Maria Dąbrowska, *Gwiazda zaranna*, Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1955, 143-223. Published in English as: "A Village Wedding" [in:] Maria Dąbrowska, *A Village Wedding and Other Stories*, trans. anon., Warsaw: Polonia, 1957, 133-216 and "The Village Wedding," trans. by Rachel Kuraho [in:] Maria Kuncewicz (ed.), *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today*, Boston; Toronto: Little, Brown & Co, 1962, 150-171. The *topos* of the village wedding in which different social classes intermingle has been popular in Polish literature since the staging of Stanisław Wyspiański's (1869-1907) modernist drama *Wesele* (1901).

way of life upon the customs of the country folk.[55] In contrast, two short stories from the *Blizny* (1960) collection by Julian Kawalec: "Silni"[56] and "Poświęcę się,"[57] published in English translation in Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind* anthology (1962), alongside Dąbrowska's "The Village Wedding" and Mrożek's "The Wedding at Atomice," are not concerned with the peasant trend at all, in which Kawalec became involved only subsequently.[58] Moreover, the fact that some of the writers, included in both editions of Bereza's *Związki naturalne* (1972 and 1978b), did not have an immediate peasant background undermines the critic's own genealogical criterion.[59]

Taking into account all terminological difficulties connected with specifying the coordinates of the peasant trend, it ought to be acknowledged, in analogy to Kathleen F. Parthé's monograph on Russian village prose, that, although insufficient, "theme-based definitions […] are not in themselves wrong" (Parthé 1992: 3). Therefore, we should consent to the fact that, just like in Russian village prose, also in the Polish peasant trend "there are dozens of […] variations on the theme/location/writer's origin approach to this body of writing" (ibid.: 150, n. 3). However, it must be stressed that apart from this and the fact that both Russian village prose and the Polish peasant trend are examples of "literature with its own intrinsic value" (ibid.: x), there are more differences than similarities between the two.

Although after Stalin's death Polish post-peasant narratives were promoted by reviews and sample translations in periodicals, books and booklets brought out in Poland and aimed at

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[55] The story comes from Dąbrowska's volume *Gwiazda zaranna* (1955), classified as "literature of the thaw." Although sarcastically, the groundbreaking role of "Na wsi wesele" is recalled in Marek Hłasko's autobiographical *Piękni dwudziestoletni* (1966; *Beautiful Twentysomethings*, 2013). Reminiscing on his journey from Warsaw to Kazimierz Dolny, on the second day of the Holy Week, when "the village is getting married," Hłasko wrote: "The road was full of drunken young men, drunken carters, drunken cyclists, and people chasing after one another with whips, knives, pitchforks, and other types of peasant implements Maria Dąbrowska fails to mention in her story 'A Village Wedding.' For a period of time, her story was considered the epitome of realism and positivism, or even romanticism. In any case, it was the epitome of something" (Hłasko 2013: Kindle Locations 2650-2653). Good as it is for its comical effect, Hłasko's comment shows that he had not read Dąbrowska's story, in which the writer, among other issues, addresses the problems of drunken brawls at village weddings and wife-beating.

[56] From: Julian Kawalec, *Blizny*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1960, 25-28. Published in English as: "Strength," trans. by Harry Stevens (Henry Charles Stevens) [in:] Maria Kuncewicz (ed.), *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today*, Boston; Toronto: Little, Brown & Co, 1962, 205-207.

[57] From: Julian Kawalec, *Blizny*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1960, 115-125. Published in English as: "I Kill Myself," trans. by Harry Stevens (Henry Charles Stevens) [in:] Maria Kuncewicz (ed.), *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today*, Boston; Toronto: Little, Brown & Co, 1962, 416-422.

[58] The first peasant narrative by Kawalec (1916-2014) was his novel *Ziemi przypisany* (1962; In Bondage to the Land).

[59] Among these writers are Kazimierz Orłoś, born in 1935 in Warsaw; Józef Ratajczak (1932-1999), born in Poznań; Anna Kowalska (1903-1969) and Mieczysław Piotrowski (1910-1977), both born in Lvov; as well as Warsaw-born Miron Białoszewski (1922-1983). What seems decisive here is the criterion of *mowa żywa* (see above, p. 197).

the foreign reader,[60] Anglo-American publishers remained resistant to works other than accounts of the Second World War, depictions of political oppression in post-war Poland or science-fiction stories, authored almost exclusively by Stanisław Lem.[61] Historical novels and children's books were occasional exceptions. Even the International Congresses of Translators of Polish Literature, held when the popularity of post-peasant narratives reached its apogee, did not succeed in drawing the attention of Anglophone translators to this literary trend.[62] As a result, no novels or short-story collections associated with the peasant current, were brought out in English before 1990 and most of them still remain untranslated into this language.

Whereas unpopular in Western countries, peasant-trend narratives from Poland were widely translated in the Eastern bloc. A quick look at a map of renditions of post-peasant prose, carried out until 1989, takes us to countries such as Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, the USSR, Romania and Cuba, and to languages such as Bulgarian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, German, Russian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Romanian and Spanish. Apart from promotional materials and sample translations published in Poland in English-, French-, German- or Swedish-language magazines, no peasant-trend narratives appeared in translation in Anglophone countries or in France, West Germany, Austria and Sweden. Even the solemn analysis of the Polish novel, its history and roles, factual or posited, written by Czesław Miłosz in 1966, did not influence publishing policies in the United States or Great Britain in this respect. Perhaps it was too early for the poet's opinions to bear on the general attitude to uncommitted Polish literature in Anglophone countries. After all, Miłosz

[60] Among others, these were: *Poland: Illustrated Magazine* (a monthly brought out by the Polonia Publishing House between 1954 and 1989, from 1959 available also in the USA); *Polish Perspectives* (a monthly published by the Polish Institute of International Affairs between 1958 and 1989); *The Polish Review* (an illustrated monthly magazine brought out by the Polonia Publishing House between 1961 and 1969); *Bulletin of New Books and Plays* (a French-English-German monthly published by the Author's Agency between 1958 and 1969); *Polish Literature–Littérature Polonaise* (an English-French quarterly, which appeared between 1968 and 1974, brought out by the Author's Agency), as well as the Profiles of Contemporary [Polish] Writers booklet series (published in English between 1972 and 1990 by the Author's Agency in collaboration with Czytelnik; see Appendix 3, p. 301). Also, the last issue of the International PEN's *ARENA* (March 1967), entirely devoted to Polish literature and art, was printed in Poland (following this issue the magazine was suspended after the Katzenbach Committee revealed the clandestine financing of the International PEN by the CIA. For more information on the CIA's infiltration of the International PEN see Stonor Saunders 2013: 302-309).

[61] However, even books about the Second World War were significantly dependent on the post-1945 fight for ideological supremacy between the East and the West. While in Western capitalist countries narratives exposing nazi atrocities were stifled soon after the war, those revealing Soviet crimes were intensely promoted (for more on this topic see section 3.3. of the present chapter). It was either anti-communist literary pieces, or works created by communist dissidents, which proved to be of the utmost importance for translation commissioners on the Western side of the Berlin Wall. The immense popularity of science-fiction was also the result of the Cold War atmosphere, boosted by the arms and space race; nevertheless, it had a more spontaneous nature than that of translated opposition literature from Poland.

[62] The International Congresses of Translators of Polish Literature took place in Warsaw and Kraków in 1965, 1970, 1975 and 1979.

was not yet a Nobel-prize laureate and his words did not weigh as much as after 1980, unless they could be used politically to the disadvantage of communists. Unfortunately for Polish peasant prose, 1980 already spelled the end to this literary trend, but even if it had continued, it would have stood little chance of being translated because of the political events unfolding in Poland. Here is how Miłosz characterised the two main thematic concerns, which presented themselves before contemporary Polish novelists in the second half of the 1960s:

> A wealth of material, hardly encompassed by the existing fiction on contemporary themes, awaits Polish writers. Possibly it can be tackled only with completely new tools. Two major subjects can be distinguished. The first is war, but war as approached by those who were children in the years 1939-1945, who have but vague recollections of facts and thus are free to shuffle them while introducing the fantastic and the grotesque. The short novels of Stanisław Grochowiak, a gifted poet, are an example of this. *But even more important is the subject of the Polish village*, for Poland until the end of the last war was, in the main, a peasant nation. Many intellectuals who are now teaching, writing, or directing theater productions come from villages where their parents were illiterate or semiliterate. For these young people, memoirs of childhood mean a return to the countryside. But because they are now city-dwellers, they can see the peasant in a double perspective. Moreover, the village itself is changing and differs greatly from what they recall of their early years. If war takes on a somewhat mythical shape in the narratives of some young writers, the same may be said of the village. These writers see folk songs and peasant rituals as an intimate part of themselves, but they look at them with the eye of an anthropologist. One of the most appealing novels of the village, Urszula Kozioł's Stations of Memory [*Postoje pamięci*, 1964], makes no pretense of going beyond the subjectivity of the main character and verges on a memoir, though it is written in the third person. […] While the author does not aspire to a sociological treatise, her novel catches the village in a period of transition. (Miłosz 1966: 1018-1019; emphasis added)

In this short characteristic of post-peasant prose, introduced through Urszula Kozioł's *Postoje pamięci*, Miłosz faultlessly recognised the immense literary potential of the dual existential experience common to children of Polish villagers who went to live in towns, as well as to villagers themselves, most of them peasants, who, willingly or not, gradually adopted urban customs and inventions. Although in the end this process led to the demise of the traditional rural life in Poland, already a relic in other parts of the world, writers of the peasant trend were generally far from idealising the past in its entirety. As Ursula Phillips noticed: "Writers who are themselves peasants tend to be more realistic and less sentimental" (1992: 145). Corresponding with this are Wiesław Myśliwski's words about the victory of the urbanised society over peasant culture:

> That it had to die was a natural verdict of history. And no sentimental regrets of those who evoke various kinds of evidence for its continuity, usually false, will help, since they take appearances for reality and by peasant culture they understand folk art, together with its patron institutions. To use war terminology, peasant culture lost the clash with advancing civilisation, however rickety it was in Poland. It had to lose it. To the culture of destitution and isolation, civilisation offered an improvement in the standard of living and working conditions, and it opened the traditional peasant world to new ideas. The temptation was too great to resist. It did not happen overnight. It was a long, continuous process. It took at least several decades, maybe more. The first symptoms may already be spotted long before the First World War in the ever increasing waves of peasant emigrants, driven away from their homes by poverty. Next, it can be seen, paradoxically, in the emancipatory ambitions of peasants in the interwar period.[63] The dreamers of those days, just as some today, believed that it was possible to reconcile the progress of civilisation in the country with the preservation of all the values of peasant culture. This proved to be unrealistic. (2003: 20-21; trans. mine)

Although some time after the war the authentic peasant culture was irreversibly gone, folk art indeed received support from specially designated patron institutions. One such patronage body was Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza (Folk Publishing Cooperative), where Wiesław Myśliwski worked as an editor in the years 1955-1976. Just as Henryk Bereza was the main theorist of the peasant trend in Polish literature, Myśliwski was among those who actually promoted many of its representatives with the help of competitions, awards, favourable reviews and publications (Bauer, Bugajski, Chudziński 1986: 10). The two most important literary prizes, received by many writers of the peasant trend, often for a successful debut, were the Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Award (1962-1964), renamed in 1965 the Stanisław Piętak Award (1965-1994), after Piętak's suicidal death in 1964, and the Wilhelm Mach Award (1968-1981). Both patrons of these prizes, Piętak (1909-1964) and Mach (1916-1965), belonged to the first generation of peasant-trend writers themselves.

In the West, decision makers stimulated the creation and publishing of a very different kind of literature. In her Introduction to *Polish Literature in Transformation* (2013), a volume of papers on Polish literary production since the fundamental political and economic changes in 1989, Ursula Phillips explained:

[63] The Polish land reforms of 1920 and 1925 were met with powerful opposition from the land-owning aristocracy. Until 1939 only one fifth of all Polish landed property was divided and distributed among peasants. In his autobiography, Jerzy Giedroyc, between 1931 and 1937 the chief editor of *Bunt Młodych*, reminisced about his support for the reform, when he "was ready to parcel out Radziwiłł [a member of an influential Polish landed family] with no hesitation" (Giedroyc 1994: 68; trans. mine).

> [I]t is important to state clearly what this book is *not* about as well as what it *is* about. […] We do not discuss for example, the work of well-known figures continuing to write and publish after 1989 […] to mention here only the twice winner of the Nike Award (established 1997 and funded by leading newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*, a prize equivalent in status to the Man Booker Prize), novelist Wiesław Myśliwski (b. 1932), for his novels Horizon (*Widnokrąg*) and Treatise on Podding Peas (*Traktat o łuskaniu fasoli*) in 1997 and 2007 respectively; in 2012, meanwhile, this writer gained even greater prominence with Bill Johnston being awarded two[64] international prizes for his 2011[65] translation of an earlier novel *Stone upon Stone* (*Kamień na kamieniu*, 1984). Another writer of this generation, and like Myśliwski formerly associated with the "countryside" or "peasant" trend in Polish literature, and likewise published officially in the former People's Republic, not in the underground or dissident "second" circulation, Marian Pilot (b. 1936), won the Nike in 2011.[66] The continued prolific activity, success and recognition of such writers begs questions about the relationship (if there is one) between literary production (in terms of universal human or artistic values) and political dissidence: were certain opposition writers, but not those honoured here, artificially promoted pre-1989 by émigré milieus or by scholars sympathetic to the opposition for the content rather than the literary value of their work? (2013: 9)

The answer to the question posed by Phillips is affirmative, but the question itself does not take into account one more powerful agent active in the promotion of anti-communist literature: the CIA. The Agency's involvement in dissident book publishing, whether in émigré, academic or commercial presses, at home and abroad, as well as in book distribution, is a historical fact. Although some of the crucial documents are still classified, the *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities* gives testimony to the US-sponsored promotion of opposition writers in the US and abroad (*Final Report…* 1976: 192-201). Apart from being the stimulus for the secret funding of certain publications, translations included, world politics also influenced reading fashions. In 2009 Jarosław Anders recalled:

> [O]wing to dramatic events in Eastern Europe, including the Solidarity uprising and martial law in Poland and growing political dissent throughout the region, the literature of Eastern Europe was very much *en vogue* in literary New York and beyond. Miłosz on his frequent visits from Berkeley and Joseph Brodsky in his Greenwich Village basement apartment were the new arbiters of literary

[64] In 2012, Bill Johnston received three prizes for his English rendition of *Kamień na kamieniu*: the American PEN Translation Prize, the Best Translated Book Award and the AATSEEL Book Award for Best Literary Translation into English. See Appendix 1 (p. 295). A year later, his translation of Myśliwski's *Traktat o łuskaniu fasoli* (2006) appeared as *Treatise on Shelling Beans* (2013).

[65] In fact, *Stone upon Stone* was published at the very end of 2010 and as such it could be nominated for the 2012 awards together with books which appeared in 2011.

[66] Also *Ludzka rzecz* by Paweł Potoroczyn, a novel displaying many stylistic features of peasant prose, was nominated, in 2014, to the Nike Award and *Nagroda Literacka Gdynia*.

> "seriousness." In Paris, Milan Kundera and Danilo Kiš were grudgingly assuming a similar role. American publishers, normally scared of contemporary translations, were bringing out a whole slew of East European authors of different caliber, though with impeccable dissident credentials. (Anders 2009: xiv-xv)

Marek Nowakowski's (1935-2014) *Raport o stanie wojennym* is a perfect illustration of Anders's words. Notwithstanding the fact that *Raport…* was a literary failure (Jarosiński 1995: 146-147), only this book was chosen for translation into English out of the writer's whole *oeuvre*. Originally brought out in 1982 by Instytut Literacki in Paris and by the Warsaw-based underground publisher NOWa, the collection appeared in English as *The Canary and Other Tales of Martial Law* (1983 and 1984). It was also rendered into Swedish (1982), French (1983), German (1983, in Munich and Vienna), Norwegian (1983), Spanish (1984, in Argentina), Serbian (1984, by an independent publisher) and Dutch (1986), an example of "coordinated publishing," typical of literature which served in the West as a warning against communism.[67] Although the situation described by Anders, as well as Nowakowski's example, refers to the first half of the 1980s, when martial law was imposed in Poland, such a publishing tendency, guided by the political agenda, was already in operation in the 1950s and continued until the end of Soviet domination in Europe (Stonor Saunders 2013: 100-101, 112-113; *Final Report…* 1976: 181; Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 219, 236, 244-245, 247, 297-299, 326, 419). Of course Nowakowski's case does not mean that all such books were artistic disasters; some of them led to genuine interest in such writers as Czesław Miłosz, Tadeusz Konwicki or Ryszard Kapuściński. Nevertheless, the state of "the cultural Cold War" (Stonor Saunders 2013), meant that English-language publishers were unwilling to bring out literature from the Eastern Bloc which was meaningless from the political point of view and extremely risky from the financial one, especially if not supported by external sources.

The fact that Wiesław Myśliwski's *Kamień na kamieniu* (1984) did not appear in English rendition until 2010 perfectly exemplifies the political and literary dynamics of the pre-1990 world. Not only was it unlikely for the book to be published in Anglophone countries at that time, it also encountered difficulties in nationalist circles in Poland. The huge popular success of the novel on home ground engendered malicious reviews by Marek

[67] Among Polish writers, similar coordinated publishing patterns are to be observed before 1989 in the case of books by Czesław Miłosz, Tadeusz Konwicki and Ryszard Kapuściński.

Zieliński in *Więź* (Zieliński[68] 1986a: 144-145) and *Przegląd Katolicki* (Zieliński 1986b: 3), in which Myśliwski was accused of standing on the wrong side of the political divide. The motivation behind the attack was that *Kamień na kamieniu* appeared officially and that its author participated in 1981 in the establishing of Narodowa Rada Kultury (the National Council of Culture), thus allegedly legitimising governmental control over culture, although this took place before the introduction of martial law (Bauer, Bugajski, Chudziński 1986: 8, 11-13).[69]

Because peasant narratives were unconcerned with national obsessions, so much preoccupying the Polish émigré and home opposition circles, their chances for translation into Western languages, especially into English, were greatly diminished. Ursula Phillips writes:

> [Myśliwski] possibly achieved Gombrowicz's ideal of lifting literature written in Polish out of its introverted and parochial obsessions – accessible only to the initiated – onto a more universal platform. Of course, his work remains like all literature rooted in its own cultural origins but it widens its horizons to encompass problems of a general, human nature, which in turn make it comprehensible to representatives of other cultures. Hence, in order to appreciate Myśliwski's work, it is not essential to be familiar with the past two hundred years of Polish history or to be intimately acquainted with the symbols of Polish Romanticism. (1992: 144)

While the absence of national obsessions constituted for Phillips an argument *for* the translation of Myśliwski's prose, for the political opposition in Poland and abroad it must have been an argument *against*. In the collection of essays *Świat nie przedstawiony* (1974; The Unrepresented World), Adam Zagajewski (b. 1945) criticised the authors of peasant narratives, in particular Tadeusz Nowak and Wiesław Myśliwski, for their alleged escapism into the world of childhood, for their individualism or even infantilism (Zagajewski 1974: 39-40). According to Zagajewski there was no satisfactory literary representation of the reality of life in the Polish People's Republic. He wrote:

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[68] In fact, the review is only signed as authored by 'Z.,' but from the 1986 interview with Myśliwski it is clear that Marek Zieliński is hiding behind this initial (Bauer, Bugajski, Chudziński 1986: 8).

[69] Interestingly, while *Kamień na kamieniu* was noticed – and criticised – in some opposition circles, Myśliwski's *Pałac*, received little recognition in Poland. Before 1990, the book was translated only into Hungarian (*Pásztorkastély*, 1986), most probably because of its possible anti-New Class interpretation. As Ursula Phillips remarked: "[…] Jacob as a peasant displays relatively little hatred and cruelty. He expresses much more resentment and brutality when he becomes the lord, or rather when he becomes the lord of his imagination. […] In fact, on entering the palace he turns into a tyrant, a beast. Furthermore, he turns against his own class. This is interesting as Myśliwski himself believes that this fact had a considerable bearing on the reception of *The Palace*, which never received as much critical acclaim and popular enthusiasm as *Stone upon Stone*" (1992: 148).

> There is the reality of people, things and awarenesses, gatherings and summer camps for children, the reality of a double creed, hypocrisy and faith, the reality of party meetings and football matches, the Peace Race and political jokes, hospitals and banners, death and new investments, old age pensioners and workers of HR departments, houses of culture and brawls at village weddings, pop songs and young scientists, libraries and beer kiosks. (ibid.: 43-44; trans. mine)

The main problem with Zagajewski's accusation was that he ignored or did not read books which addressed the reality he wanted to be addressed. However, the already existing ironic portrayal of the reality described by Zagajewski would have probably been too mild for the young poet in any case, since in his essay he attacked virtually every writer known to him, sparing no punches even to Zbigniew Herbert.[70] Also Stanisław Barańczak (1946-2014) believed that literature had national obligations. In the introduction to *New Perspectives in Twentieth Century Polish Literature: Flight from Martyrology*, Stanisław Eile stated:

> The writers of the seventies, particularly Stanisław Barańczak and other poets of the "New Wave," brought to the fore once more the problems of social responsibility and straightforward speech. The experimental bias and political detachment of the sixties were censured mercilessly, sometimes with the zealotry of young, determined fighters. The late seventies and the period of martial law instigated the literature of political outrage, apocalyptic visions and national martyrology, initiating a turnabout in artistic priorities. Old Romantic stereotypes were brought back to life, as were many traditional patriotic sentiments. These elements occasionally produced questionable results, though they also permeated the experimental texture of the novels of Tadeusz Konwicki. (1992b: 3)

Zagajewski's and Barańczak's criticism, grounded on the belief that literature should serve the national cause, was possible because their experience of life was diametrically different from that of most of the post-peasant authors'. As Wiesław Myśliwski wrote:

> […] for a long time peasants did not participate in history. History usually forced its way into their existence like divine retribution, they were left at the mercy of history without any potential of agency. Not having the sense of participation in history, they did not have the sense of guilt, as Jerzy Pietrkiewicz said, for instance for the fall of Poland, which ailed the intelligentsia so much and was the reason for their sensitivity to the national

[70] Many years later, having reached fame and international recognition, Zagajewski confessed that in *Świat nie przedstawiony* (1974), written together with Julian Kornhauser, "[w]e called upon describing concrete reality, without escaping into symbolism. Today I'm not as radical, I think that the concrete and the symbolic must fight each other like Montaigne and Pascal" (Zagajewski 2015: 27; trans. mine).

> cause, resulting in Poland's literature and art being generally preoccupied with national commitments. (2003: 12; trans. mine)

Myśliwski defined this kind of thinking about literature as "socialist realism *à rebours*" (Bauer, Bugajski, Chudziński 1986: 5), Stanisław Eile called it "patriotic realism" (1992a: 183) and Przemysław Czapliński referred to it as "anti-socialist realism" (1997). Also Agnieszka Holland, when asked about her opinion on Adam Michnik's book *Z dziejów honoru w Polsce* (1985; From the History of Honour in Poland), warned that: "one becomes threatened by a sort of new socialist realism, a noble one, where instead of red everything turns black, church-like (…) people will choke on it" (qtd in: Eile 1992a: 182). Also, the ever-independent Witold Gombrowicz noted while reflecting on another Polish émigré writer:

> The Commander-in-Chief [Gombrowicz's ironical reference to Józef Mackiewicz] lives for one idea – his battle with communism – and nothing else concerns him, especially not the thought that these fifty years of bloody revolt are the answer to a thousand years of oppression of peasants and workers by the petty gentry which sat astride the boors and stuffed themselves. The battle with communism and also the examination of the snobberies, eccentricities, and excesses of today's intellectualism appear to be indispensable and I cultivate them myself. But bravado of 1939 vintage, when Polish lancers charged tanks to the astonishment of the entire world – and nothing more, is not enough. (2012: 729).

Besides the lack of national mission from (post-)peasant prose, the rural roots of its writers, so pronouncedly stressed by Bereza, might have been another factor which contributed to the absence of this trend in English translation before the fall of the Iron Curtain. Anglophone publishers could have perceived the whole literary trend (if they heard about it at all, for example during the International Congresses of Translators of Polish Literature) as part of communist propaganda. Although Ursula Phillips rightly contends that Myśliwski's *Pałac* "is in no way a Marxist analysis of class conflict," she acknowledges that: "for many ordinary peasants, the critical source of social tension and aggression was more likely to have been their relationship with local Polish landowners than with distant partitioning powers" (1992: 148). Indeed, on receiving the Alfred Jurzykowski Foundation Award for the translation of Witold Gombrowicz's *Diary*, Lillian Vallee said:

> [M]y father was born into grinding poverty in interwar Poland and was bitten by the dogs of a Polish gentryman who could not bear to have poor children collecting kindling on his property. My father was later pursued, with a terrifying historical symmetry, by Nazi dogs when he tried to run away from a

> German labor camp as a teenager. […] Gombrowicz, a cosmopolitan from the Polish village of Małoszyce, would have been amused that the translation was being done by a provincial from the great industrial city of Detroit. (1994: 25)

Before the war, Gombrowicz, on the one hand, liked to provoke aristocratic snobbery in his fellow writers from Café Ziemiańska, who declared their sympathy for the proletariat and ridiculed the bourgeoisie (Gombrowicz 2012: 58). On the other hand, in *Ferdydurke*, he portrayed the deep chasm in the pre-war Polish society which existed between the peasantry and the privileged classes, members of the latter often reducing the idea of "fraternizing with a farmhand" (2000: 221 et passim) to the sexual sphere. Paradoxically, after the war, snobbery stemming from the inferiority complex about the peasant descent was widespread among the new ruling class of People's Poland. In a 1986 interview, Wiesław Myśliwski thus commented on the world depicted in his novels:

> According to critics-*cum*-programmists who dreamt about making Polish literature European, none of this [peasant prose] was supposed to exist. […] Peasants […] were already an anachronism. Because, how come? The second half of the twentieth century, modern civilisation, automation, space flights, big industry, huge cities, and here the peasants are coming out of the wattle fencing. Not only did they blemish Polish metropolises, they also reached for literature. (Bauer, Bugajski, Chudziński 1986: 3; trans. mine)

However, it was exactly the tension which the authors of post-peasant narratives observed between the progressing modernisation of the world and the traditional mentality of villagers that proved to be most vital for their creativity and most fruitful for Polish literature. Writers and critics who sympathised with this literary trend, such as Maria Dąbrowska, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, Julian Przyboś and Henryk Bereza, did so not only because they too were personally attached to the Polish rural village, but because they appreciated the artistic value of these works.

Another hurdle in promoting peasant prose for translation into English before 1990 was of a financial nature. In order to generate profit, there must either exist a demand for a given kind of literature or it has to be created. The latter option involves a much greater risk, which is even bigger in the case of renditions, when the purchase of rights to the book and the translator's fee have to be taken into account. Although until 1989 patronage over Polish literature and its promotion for translation was impressive, especially between 1964 and 1981, when the Author's Agency was most active, there existed no programme which would cover translation costs, so that the risk of publishing a translated book would have been almost the

same as of publishing a book originally written in the target language. Hence, even if a translator had suggested a book belonging to the peasant trend for publication, it would have been extremely unlikely that the publisher would have consented to bringing it out.[71]

How the works from the rural trend would have been received in Anglophone countries before 1990 is open to speculation. Although the peasant trend as such is unknown in English-language literature, some analogies may be found in rural novels by the English writer Flora Thompson (1876-1947) or in works by the American novelist William Faulkner (1897-1962). Additionally, the American descendants of peasant emigrants from the times when Poland was partitioned and those from the interwar period could theoretically constitute a likely readership. Stories of economic migrations in search of a better future constitute one of the recurrent *topoi* of the village narratives, in which this or that relative or neighbour of the main character or the protagonist themself went to, wanted to go, was on the way to, or returned from France, the United States or another country where they could find employment. Such migrations were a common experience of generations of destitute Polish peasants.[72]

When the émigré writer Jerzy Pietrkiewicz had his autobiographical novel, *The Knotted Cord* (1953), published by Hanna and Marian Kisters' Roy, the book won critical acclaim both in America and Great Britain. The critics appreciated the imaginative depiction of the author's childhood in a pre-war Polish rural village, as well as the fact that the novel was originally written in English.[73] For the readers, *The Knotted Cord* must have held a sentimental or exotic appeal similar to that of the narratives by Stanisław Vincenz and Paweł Łysek, two other writers who did not return to Poland after the Second World War and who enclosed in their works the pre-war world of village life, this time of the mountain folk. Typically, English translations of books by these authors appeared in publishing houses run by Polish émigrés, such as Roy Publishers in New York and the London-based Poets and Painters' Press, founded by Krystyna and Czesław Bednarczyk.

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[71] Russian village prose in English translation was brought out by two Soviet publishing houses: Progress and Raduga. Also American publishers oriented towards Russian Studies and Russian literature, such as Ardis and Vanguard Press, published translations of rural narratives from the Soviet Union. The Polish peasant trend, which differed from the Russian village prose mainly in that it did not originate in opposition to kolkhoz literature, practically non-existent in Poland, could not provide enough criticism of the past wrongs of collectivisation, which would have been well-seen in the West.

[72] The mobility of this social class is well documented in a five-volume sociological study by William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. See William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 5 vols: Chicago: University of Chicago Press (vol. 1-2); Boston: R. G. Bager (vol. 3-5), 1918-1920 (reprinted in 1927, 1938, 1958, 1974, 1984 and in 1996 in an abridged edition).

[73] *The Knotted Cord* was Pietrkiewicz's second book of prose, after his two-volume novel *Po chłopsku* (The Peasant Way), published in 1941 in London and never translated into English.

Nevertheless, until recently, literary works taking their source from the encounter of traditional peasant culture and the post-war modernisation of the Polish village were non-existent in English rendition; moreover, no academic analysis of the peasant trend appeared in Anglophone countries, akin to that of the wartime article by Arthur Prudden Coleman on "The Polish Peasant in Recent Literature."[74] The interest in the changes taking place in the Polish countryside after the Second World War was restricted to sociological and economic studies, both in the original English[75] and in translation from the Polish.[76]

After 1989, when the political obstacles standing in the way of peasant prose being transferred into English disappeared, it was Ursula Phillips and Bill Johnston, both of them academics and translators, who finally introduced modern peasant narratives into that language. In 1991, thanks to the independent publisher Peter Owen, Wiesław Myśliwski's *Pałac* (1970; *The Palace*) appeared in English, rendered by Ursula Phillips. This is what the translator said about her choice of this particular author:

> Myśliwski is perceived by critics and literary historians as belonging to that genre in Polish literature known as the "nurt chłopski," a phrase coined by Henryk Bereza, meaning the peasant, countryside theme or trend. Although this is not incorrect, it is misleading to simply lump him in this category, or indeed in any category – because his work has philosophical, emotional, universal and purely aesthetic dimensions, which extend the significance of his contribution above and beyond the peasant experience. He is rather more experimental, rather more sophisticated, than other "peasant" writers of his generation: Tadeusz Nowak, Marian Pilot, Edward Redliński – or indeed of the preceding generation: Stanisław Piętak, Wilchelm Mach, Jan Bolesław Ożóg, Julian Kawalec. This is not to decry such works as Redliński's *Konopielka* (1973) or Nowak's *A jak królem, a jak katem będziesz* (And When You Are a King, And When You Are a Hangman, 1968), both accomplished novels which have become classics of their kind. (1992: 144)

While it is certainly true that Myśliwski achieved excellence in his handling of the word and that he is known to stress the fact that he cannot represent anything but himself (Bauer, Bugajski, Chudziński 1986: 2), what he means by this provision is his artistic freedom and human individuality (ibid.: 3). Myśliwski has always objected to thoughtless

[74] See Arthur P. Coleman, "The Polish Peasant in Recent Literature," *The Journal of Central European Affairs* 1, 1941, 88-96.
[75] Peter A. Ostafin, "The Polish Peasant in Transition: A Study of Group Integration as a Function of Symbiosis and Common Definitions," unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1948, Sula Benet, *Song, Dance, and Customs of Peasant Poland*, London: Dennis Dobson, 1951, Stefan Kieniewicz, *The Emancipation of the Polish Peasantry*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1969 and Walter C. Bisselle, "The Polish Peasants: Change and Continuity in the Postwar Era," unpublished PhD thesis, Syracuse University, 1971.
[76] Bogusław Gałęski, *Basic Concepts of Rural Sociology*, trans. by Henry Charles Stevens and edited by Teodor Shanin, Peter Worsley and Ann Allen, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972 (reprinted in 1975).

generalisations about the peasant trend, stemming from intellectual laziness which prompted many critics to "simply lump" all the writers, not only himself, into one category, in much the same way as the aristocracy in *Pałac* addressed all the male peasants with one name, Jacob, for their own convenience (Myśliwski 1991: 7). All the same, he never denied Bereza's understanding of this literary phenomenon (Bauer, Bugajski, Chudziński 1986: 4).

Moreover, although Phillips is right when she states that Myśliwski is the most sophisticated writer in this literary trend, it is wrong to suggest that Nowak, Pilot, Redliński or Kawalec were less experimental in their literary quests. Just like Myśliwski, each of these and other writers of the peasant trend followed their own artistic evolution. From the beginning of their literary quest, Nowak, Kozioł, Stachura, Oryszyn and Redliński certainly had a unique voice of their own. It was the linguistic experimentation and the vision of the world which emanated through the language of their works that prompted Bereza to hear in it *mowa żywa*, the oral tradition of the peasant culture, which resuscitated the rigid conventions of standard Polish (Bereza 1978a: 6-8; Myśliwski 2013). Likewise, their narratives exceeded peasant experience, as they originated from the liaison between tradition and modernity, the spoken and the written word, which resulted in a whole array of artistic expression from the philosophical poetics of *Nagi sad* (1967) by Myśliwski to the witty grotesque of Redliński's *Konopielka* (1973).

The clue to the linguistic specificity of (post-)peasant literature might be seen in the same mechanism, which made newly-literate peasants write in the same way as they spoke, or as if they were dictating their message to a paid writer. Speaking about the peasant language, Wiesław Myśliwski stressed the fact that:

> In [authentic] peasant writings one frequently comes across an abundant richness of form, ingenious narrative structures and sentences worthy of the literary avant-garde, not to mention the beauty and richness of words, rarely borrowed from other languages. Peasants' word-forming imagination was astounding. Our, educated people's, range of vocabulary is a much smaller part of the Polish language than that of the peasants'. And the peasant speech can give concretisation to all types of things, phenomena or even abstract notions. […] For me, language is the most momentous heritage of peasant speech. I could say that it was from peasants that I took a great lesson of the Polish language. Not in the meaning of a specific class, social group, or regional language or dialect, but as a lesson in linguistic freedom and creativity. Language as the indicator of our humanity, as the creator of our thoughts, images and feelings. I once said that peasants were serfs in everything, but in one thing they were free, they were free in language. Free from all linguistic prescriptions, all dictionaries, manuals, or any canons of so-called correct Polish. (2013; trans. mine)

For almost twenty years, Phillips's brilliant translation of Myśliwski's *Pałac* remained the sole representative of Polish post-peasant novels in English rendition. This might be explained by two factors: firstly, by the absence of any big-scale patronage over Polish literature in translation between December 1981 (after martial law was introduced in Poland) and the year 1998, when Zespół Literacki "polska2000" was founded (later transformed into the Book Institute); secondly, by the lack of promotion of the old literary repertoire, of which post-peasant narratives had already become part in the second half of the 1980s. Phillips's choice of *Pałac* must have been the result of independent research and was guided not only by the novel's beauty and universality, but also by the scholar's interest in literature of the 19th and early 20th centuries.[77] *Pałac* is set at the very outbreak of the Second World War and much of the book is devoted to depictions of a world which is about to perish.

In 1998, the ©POLAND Translation Program was introduced in Poland, in which the costs of translation and the acquisition of book rights are covered by the Polish Book Institute. Thanks to this financial support, translator Bill Johnston and Jill Schoolman, the founder of the independent publishing house Archipelago Books, were able to bring out the English version of *Kamień na kamieniu* (1984) by Wiesław Myśliwski, as *Stone upon Stone* (2010). For his masterful recreation of Szymek Pietruszka's voice, the novel's protagonist and narrator, Johnston received in 2012 three of the most prestigious translation awards in the USA: the American PEN Translation Prize, the Best Translated Book Award and the AATSEEL Book Award for Best Literary Translation into English.[78]

This and Phillips's successful renditions of Myśliwski's prose suggest that the linguistic challenge inherent in peasant-trend narratives may also be overcome in works by other authors, irrespectively of the extent of dialectical features employed in them,[79] since, according to present-day translation standards, the strategy of dealing with strongly stylised narratives, told in a recognisable Polish dialect, and with those in which the stylisation cannot be referred to any particular rural region of Poland will have to be the same. In his *Literary*

[77] Ursula Philips specialises in translating 19th- and early 20th-century Polish literature. Among others, she has rendered works of such authors as Maria Wirtemberska (*Malwina czyli Domyślność serca*, 1816; *Malvina, or the Heart's Intuition*, 2012), Narcyza Żmichowska (*Poganka*, 1846; *The Heathen*, 2012) and Zofia Nałkowska (*Choucas*, 1927; *Choucas*, 2014). For the English rendition of *Choucas* she was awarded the Book Institute's "Found in Translation Award." See Appendix 1 (p. 295).

[78] For the translator's account of rendering *Kamień na kamieniu* into English, see Bill Johnston, "The Stones and the Earth: On translating Wiesław Myśliwski's *Stone Upon Stone*," New Ohio Review 14, 2013, 165-168 and Bill Johnston, "Szymek from the Village and Joe from Missouri: Problems of Voice in Translating Wiesław Myśliwski's *Stone upon Stone*" [in:] Brian Nelson and Brigid Maher (eds), *Perspectives on Literature and Translation: Creation, Circulation, Reception*, New York, NY; London: Routledge, 2013, 47-55.

[79] On dialectical features employed in peasant-trend narratives for stylistic reasons and the specific idiolect they form themselves, see Stanisław Dubisz, "Dialekt i gwara – integracja językowa – stylizacja gwarowa" [in:] *Dialektologia i jej pogranicza*, Warszawa: Wydział Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2013, 33-58.

Translation: A Practical Guide, Clifford E. Landers writes about the dilemma of dealing with dialect present in the source text:

> A frequently encountered problem in literary translation is how to convey dialect. […] No dialect travels well in translation. However reluctantly, the translator must recognize that dialect, at least at the level of one-to-one transference, is untranslatable. […] Where extended passages in dialect are the case, the best we can hope for is a kind of generalized adaptation to spoken discourse – e.g., a plausible reproduction of non-specific rural, as opposed to Cajun or Ozark, speech. Any rendering of SL dialect that consciously or unconsciously evokes an existing TL dialect is probably self-defeating. Whether or not it "reads well," it still falls short of the original by introducing an element markedly different from that in the SL. […] Summing up, dialect is always tied, geographically and culturally, to a milieu that does not exist in the target-language setting. Substitution of an "equivalent" dialect is foredoomed to failure. The best advice about trying to translate dialect: don't. (2001: 116-117)

Taking the above into account, finding the right English voice for such characters as Edward Stachura's Potęgowa and old Taborska from *Cała jaskrawość* (1969), Wiesław Myśliwski's Jakub from *Pałac* (1970) or Szymek from *Kamień na kamieniu* (1984), Tadeusz Nowak's Sołtyska Jadwiga from *Diabły* (1971) or Edward Redliński's Kaziuk from *Konopielka* (1973) would need to follow the same translatorial principle, described by Landers as a recreation of the source text in a "non-specific rural speech" of the target language, irrespectively of whether the originals made use of real dialects or whether they were artful literary stylisations.[80] Both translators of Myśliwski's novels into English, Ursula Phillips and Bill Johnston, stress the fact that neither the originals of *The Palace* nor *Stone upon Stone* were written in any identifiable Polish dialect. As such, they already complied in their original, Polish version to the translatorial strategy postulated by Landers. Recognising this fact, Phillips noted:

> […] neither *The Palace* nor *Stone upon Stone* is written in peasant dialect. In *The Palace* there are indeed passages where peasant voices speak in everyday, colloquial language, but they do not use a recognisable dialect. Meanwhile the whole of *Stone upon Stone* is the monologue of a peasant in colloquial speech

[80] See Stanisław Dubisz, "Uwagi o dialektyzacji w *Konopielce* Edwarda Redlińskiego," *Poradnik Językowy* 7, 1977, 293-304. None of the post-peasant narratives, though, can be said to be written in dialect. Even if recognisable, dialects are either sparsely used (e.g. the dialect from the Kujawy region in *Cała jaskrawość* by Edward Stachura) or serve the purpose of poetic stylisation (e.g. the dialect from the Białystok region in *Konopielka* by Edward Redliński). For more information on folk dialects used as a literary device, see Jerzy Bartmiński, *O derywacji stylistycznej: gwara ludowa w funkcji języka artystycznego*, Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1977.

> containing many regionalisms. But this too is not a specific, geographically identifiable dialect as in the case of Redliński's language in *Konopielka*. The language of Myśliwski's novels is rather an artificial creation, a construct based upon the conventions of everyday speech but highly poeticised and able to express philosophical reflection as well as moods and emotions – a language convincing within the confines of the text, but not identifiable as a dialect. In this respect it is similar to one of the earliest and most important Polish novels devoted to the peasant theme: Władysław Reymont's *Chłopi* […].[81] The language of *The Palace* is extremely stylised – a very poetic, unusual, individual style, a literary *tour de force* based upon complicated uses of allusion and alliteration, rhythm and repetition, simile and metaphor. (1992: 145)

Writing about his experience of recreating Szymek's voice in *Stone upon Stone*, Bill Johnston confirmed Phillips's observation, also quoting Landers's advice:

> [Myśliwski] created, for the purpose of the book, a Polish which, though it is recognisably "country Polish," is equally recognisably not the dialect of any particular region. In fact the author worked hard to create a kind of pan-peasant Polish that identifies the characters – and hence, because it is rendered in a first-person narrative, the book itself – as anchored in a very specific class or social milieu, but not a specific place. In other words, it is located in class space, not geographical space. In fact, the latter analogue – the refusal to locate the village of the novel geographically, or even to name it – works powerfully to support the former. […] Dialect, though, presents its own problems in translation. Even if the village were located in geographic space, the problems of translating dialect are only too familiar to translators. In his *Literary Translation: A Practical Guide*, Clifford Landers's advice about translating dialect is like *Punch* magazine's famous advice to persons about to marry: Don't. (2013a: 49)

Here, Johnston unmistakably identified the most interesting implication concerning all peasant-trend narratives: whether the translator has to deal with an artistic creation of "pan-peasant Polish" or with a no less artistic recreation of a geographically specific dialect, they will need to approach the task with help from the same device, namely, a non-specific rural target language. This, however, has to be done skilfully, otherwise the translator runs the risk of distorting, or even destroying, the narrator's or character's voice.[82] Depending on the

[81] Władysław Reymont, *Chłopi*, Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff; Kraków: Gebethner i Spółka, 1904 (Jesień, Zima), 1906 (Wiosna), 1909 (Lato). Published in English as Władysław Reymont, *The Peasants: A Tale of Our Times*, trans. by Michael H. Dziewicki, New York, NY: A. A. Knopf, 1924 (Autumn), 1925 (Winter, Spring, Summer).

[82] An extreme case of such destructive transference, this time of non-standard English into Polish, is Michał Kłobukowski's rendition of Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* (1982; *Kolor purpury*, 1992). Even if we agree that Landers's advice on recreating the source text in the "non-specific rural speech" of the target language can be applied here (after all, Walker's novel is mostly set in rural Georgia), stylistic moderation and melodious

source context, the target "pan-peasant language" could have an educated/uneducated, literate/illiterate or intelligent/unintelligent variety, including combinations of these features. In the case of *Stone upon Stone*, Johnston's main concern was not to make Szymek "sound like a village bumpkin" (ibid.: 50). Indeed, the translator achieved the perfect balance between Szymek's rural simplicity and his intelligence, his reluctance to reading and his knack for making inspired poetic speeches as a village wedding official.

Apart from the employment of "pan-peasant Polish" or more identifiable rural stylisations, some peasant narratives feature insertions of other idiolects, as well as authorial idiosyncrasies. Frequently a single text contains a multitude of voices and uses different narrative techniques. Therefore, translating (post-)peasant prose into English would vary in levels of difficulty. For instance, setting out to render *Cała jaskrawość* (1969) by Edward Stachura would mean managing three kinds of registers: Stachura's idiosyncratic language, which abounds in enumerations, repetitions and surprising metaphors, a dialect from the Kujawy region, and the newspeak of officials of the People's Poland period, featured in documents found by the novel's main characters, Edmund and Witek.

Even *Konopielka* (1973), Edward Redliński's major literary achievement, narrated in artistically-fashioned Białystok dialect, can be successfully transferred for the Anglophone reader. Although the book has often been described as untranslatable (Olschowsky 1980: 130), the sample rendition of the novel, produced for the Polish Book Institute by Antonia Lloyd-Jones, gives a foretaste of its witty style and proves that a successful translation into English is fully possible (Redliński 2014: 25-27).[83] In the text promoting *Konopielka*, Tomasz Pindel wrote:

> There are a number of Polish novels about life in the countryside and the clash between modern civilisation and the peasant mentality, but no author has ever done it as powerfully or as humorously as Edward Redliński. The central character and narrator of this story is Kaziuk, a peasant who lives in Taplary, a remote village buried among the marshes on Poland's eastern frontier. […] The title, *Konopielka*, refers to the schoolmistress character, and is the name for a sprite that lures men into the corn. This is not meant to be a realistic novel, but is rather a brilliant rendition of the classic theme of collision between tradition and modernity; it is not at all unambiguous and not at all obvious. The comedy relies on the clash of mentalities and on literary style – the story is told by a simple peasant, according to his logic and in his own language. (2014: 23-24)

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cadence are certainly lacking in Kłobukowski's recreation of Celie's voice. As a result, the Polish reader obtained what Krzysztof Knauer called "a Frankenstein creation of pan-Polish rural dialect" (Knauer 1996: 90; trans. mine).

[83] So far *Konopielka* has been translated into Czech (1977), Slovak (1981) and Hungarian (1989).

With all the political, financial and linguistic obstacles defeated, it is somewhat sad that apart from the two novels by Wiesław Myśliwski no other peasant-trend narratives have been rendered into English so far. Although the Book Institute is highly successful in advertising Polish literature abroad, until recently its main objective has been the promotion of new releases, as exemplified by the distribution of the *New Books from Poland* catalogue to translators, publishers and literary agencies worldwide. Out of the pre-1990 literary repertoire, for a long time only writers already known in the West were supported, such as Witold Gombrowicz (1904-1969), Czesław Miłosz (1911-2004), Stanisław Lem (1921-2006) or Marek Hłasko (1934-1969). Even Bill Johnston's translation of *Kamień na kamieniu* was a chance opportunity, since originally its publisher, Jill Schoolman, thought about bringing out Myśliwski's new book, the Nike Award winning *Traktat o łuskaniu fasoli* (2006; *Treatise on Shelling Beans*, 2013). This is how Johnston reminisced about embarking on the translation of *Kamień na kamieniu*:

> This was, of all the things I've done, my dream project. I read the book… I bought it first way back in the late eighties. From the very late eighties, just before communism ended, people started selling literature that was previously hard to get hold of on the street and I bought a copy of this book. It was originally written in 1984. I fell in love with it from the first paragraph… and the first paragraph so blew me away… and at that time I wasn't even translating, but I just remembered the book and then I came back, reread it and I decided that I absolutely would love to translate it, but it's a 500-page book from the communist period by a completely unknown author.[84] I couldn't imagine any publisher who would be insane enough to take this on and… luckily, yes, Jill Schoolman is that insane. […] I'm really delighted with the attention that the book has got, because I think it's one of the most remarkable novels to have come out of Europe in the last century and I think it's really absolutely amazing, but it's not a typical kind of thing that is easy to get published here, in the United States, so I'm immensely grateful to Jill Schoolman of Archipelago Books. (2012: 49'25"-51'20")

Hopefully, the first issue of the [*Polish*] *Modern Classics* catalogue, published by the Polish Book Institute for the London Book Fair in April 2014, is the harbinger of change for the hitherto overlooked literary works. It is in this publication that *Konopielka*, in Antonia Lloyd-Jones's sample translation, has been promoted for the first time after 1989. In the introduction to the catalogue its editors declare:

[84] Because of the hiatus in translation patronage, Ursula Phillips's translation of Myśliwski's *Pałac* did not get much publicity when it appeared in 1991, hence it was virtually unknown.

> Although the world publishing market mainly sets its sights on new books, there is rising – and extremely welcome – interest in books that were published within the past few decades, most of whose authors are no longer alive, or in some cases have been more or less forgotten. These days we are rediscovering them, and they are proving even more interesting and relevant than at the time when they first appeared. (Kaluta and Pindel 2014: 3)

This initiative certainly opens new perspectives for books whose artistic value stood the test of time. As Kaluta and Pindel remark, narratives from the past may provide an answer to present expectations of the Western reader. Piotr Kuhiwczak's analysis of Polish literature in English translation, seventeen years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, inadvertently confirms the above diagnosis. The scholar writes:

> While taking this necessarily cursory look at what kind of Polish writing is translated into English, one can clearly see that on one hand there is an expectation that the creative energy released after 1989 should produce something new and unexpected. On the other hand, there is a longing for what is essentially defined as "East European" literature – a specific, personal account of the region's troubled history. This dual and rather incompatible set of expectations does not concern Poland alone. (2007: 158)

After the fall of communism in Europe, the demand for "East European" literature was satisfied to a large extent by the regional *literatura małych ojczyzn*, the literature of "small homelands," at first promoted abroad for the needs of the German readership. Initially unpopular in English translation, unless concerned with the Jewish theme, it took off with the discovery of Andrzej Stasiuk's prose.[85] In his writings, whether novels, short stories or essays, Stasiuk seems to have achieved a perfect balance between the "dual and [seemingly] incompatible set of expectations" highlighted by Kuhiwczak (ibid.). Stasiuk's novels are usually set in the Polish provinces, whether rural or urban. In 2005, when only two of his

[85] Symptomatically, the first English rendition of Stasiuk's book, for which he received the Kościelski Prize, was done by the Polish translator, Wiesiek Powaga, (*Biały kruk*, 1995; *White Raven*, 2000). In his prose, Stasiuk (b. 1960), just as Wioletta Grzegorzewska (b. 1974), Daniel Odija (b. 1974), Mirosław Nahacz (1984-2007) or Andrzej Muszyński (b. 1984), explores the condition of contemporary Polish provinces, rural and urban, affected by the new capitalist reality. When speculating on the future of the peasant trend, Henryk Bereza noted: "On the horizon there arises the third, penultimate, if not the last, generation of peasant-trend writers, since the trend will have to perish when the present-day social and cultural differences are a thing of the past. But maybe this trend will not perish, maybe it will only change its nature?" (Bereza 1978b: 11; trans. mine). These words sound prophetic if we take into account the fact that Andrzej Stasiuk, himself born in Warsaw of parents with peasant roots, has drawn inspiration from the rural village and chose it for his home. The writer may also be said to represent the generation which links two realities, that of pre- and post-1989 Poland, described by himself as "the last happy generation" (Stasiuk 1998: 105). For more on that subject, see Gajewski 2011: 130-144. Other narratives which can be classified as post-peasant prose include *Ludzka rzecz* (2013) by Paweł Potoroczyn (b. 1961) and *Skoruń* (2015) by Maciej Płaza (b. 1976), both published by W.A.B.

books functioned in English translation by Wiesiek Powaga and Margarita Nafpaktitis, published by independent presses,[86] Dariusz Skórczewski advocated:

> The presence of our literature abroad might be only guaranteed by well-written, well-translated and well-promoted prose. Maybe these should be multicultural, regional narrations, following the present fashion for exotic cultures, for example prose by Andrzej Stasiuk? (2006: 277-278; trans. mine)

Skórczewski's recipe for increasing the presence of Polish literature abroad proved to be effective. Between 2007 and 2011, four more books by Stasiuk were published in English with support from the Polish Book Institute, three of them translated by Bill Johnston and one by Michael Kandel.[87] If the strategy worked for the new Polish prose, why should it not work for the good old favourites of modern Polish writing, to which peasant-trend narratives belong, especially if Myśliwski's *Stone upon Stone* turned out to be such a success in the United States? After all, post-peasant narratives perfectly reconcile the "new and unexpected," since they are virtually unknown in Anglophone countries, with the "longing for what is essentially defined as 'East European' literature" (Kuhiwczak 2007: 158), all the more so because they come from the times when the East-West divide was so clearly pronounced.[88]

Polish narratives of the peasant trend are to such an extent unknown in Anglophone countries that even Bill Johnston did not seem to be familiar with their multitude and significance for modern Polish literature when he wrote in his introduction to the English version of Stasiuk's *Dukla*:

> It is […] striking that Stasiuk dwells on things and places no one else thinks worthy of writing about. Polish literature has preponderantly been urban in character; writing set in the countryside has traditionally involved country estates, and has concerned above all the life of the gentry. What goes on in the small towns and villages has, with a few notable exceptions (like Wiesław

[86] Andrzej Stasiuk, *White Raven*, trans. by Wiesiek Powaga, London: Serpent's Tail, 2000 and Andrzej Stasiuk, *Tales of Galicia*, trans. by Margarita Nafpaktitis, Prague: Twisted Spoon Press, 2003.

[87] Andrzej Stasiuk, *Nine*, trans. by Bill Johnston, Orlando, FL: Harcourt and London: Harvill Secker, 2007, Andrzej Stasiuk, *Fado*, trans. by Bill Johnston, Champaign, IL; London: Dalkey Archive Press, 2009, Andrzej Stasiuk, *Dukla*, trans. by Bill Johnston, Champaign, IL; Dublin; London: Dalkey Archive Press, 2011 and Andrzej Stasiuk, *On the Road to Babadag: Travels in the Other Europe*, trans. by Michael Kandel, Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011 and London: Vintage, 2012. The subtitle of the last-mentioned book, absent from the Polish original, reflects the longing of the Anglo-American readership for the "otherness" of Eastern Europe.

[88] Even during the Cold War era, the American writer, Wallace Stegner, believed that if there was "any hope, in the mid-twentieth century, for reciprocal understanding on a war-torn planet" this was through great literature which "preserved the winsome filigrees of human difference and at one and the same time transcended them. […] Literature connected average soul with average soul" transcending "the local through the local" (Bennett 2015: 127-128).

> Myśliwski's *Stone upon Stone*), been overlooked. Stasiuk goes looking for his poetry, his light and its effects, in precisely those seemingly banal and uninteresting places that others have ignored. (2011: viii-ix)

What has been ignored are certainly not "the small towns and villages" or the "banal and uninteresting places" (ibid.). What has been ignored are, in Benjamin Paloff's words, all those "writers, troubled and troubling, mysterious and beyond category, who have been trying to speak to us Americans all this time, and who are still waiting to be heard" (Paloff 2009: 36): Julian Kawalec, Tadeusz Nowak, Urszula Kozioł, Wiesław Myśliwski, Edward Stachura, Zyta Oryszyn, Edward Redliński and many others. The lack of knowledge concerning these authors, as well as the fear of unwanted connotations that the terms "a peasant novel" or "peasant literature" might evoke in Anglo-American readers, can explain Bill Johnston's reluctance to classify *Stone upon Stone* as belonging to the peasant trend (Johnston 2013a: 47; Polivka 2011: 11). That such fears are grounded may be attested by Stephanie Steiker's introductory comment in her review of *Stone upon Stone*, in which she revealed:

> […] as much as I've grown to respect Polish literature, I hesitated before embarking on Wiesław Myśliwski's *Stone upon Stone*, a 500-plus-page commitment of a novel described as "peasant literature." It's not that I didn't trust the novel insomuch as I didn't trust myself, a self-described city girl whose closest positive encounter with nature was admiring "The Gleaners," François Millet's 1857 painting of three peasant women gathering grain after the harvest, housed at the Musée D'Orsay. (2011: 180)

After the initial hesitation preceding Steiker's embarking on the novel, the critic fully appreciated "the talents of Myśliwski as well as [those of] the translator of this masterwork, Bill Johnston" (ibid.: 182). With this example in mind, maybe it would be better to try and create a positive aura around the Polish post-peasant narratives, instead of shamefully avoiding the term "peasant trend"? After all, even Wiesław Myśliwski's *Kamień na kamieniu* (1984; *Stone upon Stone*, 2010) and Marian Pilot's Nike-Award-winning *Pióropusz* (2010) are epigone works of this literary current and the fact should not be exorcised.[89] In 2007 the renowned Slavist, Pavol Winczer, wrote:

> A phenomenon of great import, underestimated, or even not realised by foreign recipients is the peasant trend in Polish prose (in the case of Tadeusz Nowak

[89] With typical irony, Myśliwski admitted to having learnt that the peasant trend in Polish literature ended with his *Stone upon Stone* from a review of one of his interviewers, Leszek Bugajski (Bauer, Bugajski, Chudziński 1986: 2).

> also his poetry), understood as the articulation of the social experience by the intelligentsia of peasant origin, their mentality and the rich resources of peasant culture, resurfacing in Polish literature from the 1930s onwards. I do not claim that this trend is fully appreciated in Poland, but personally I am convinced that Nowak's *Psalms,* as well as Myśliwski's *Stone upon Stone* belong to the greatest achievements of post-war Polish literature, to its canon. (2007: 107; trans. mine)

While Winczer's words give evidence to the fact that the peasant trend in Polish literature is barely recognised abroad, more precisely in the West, he clearly believes in its potential. Even the assumed lack of appreciation of this trend in contemporary Poland stems from Winczer's observation on the scarcity of academic research on Polish literature of the 1945-1989 period (ibid.: 103), rather than from the real amount of interest which rural narratives enjoy. That these novels and short stories are still popular on home ground, might be confirmed by the fact that in 2008-2009 one of the leading opinion magazines in Poland, *Polityka*, brought out *Konopielka* by Edward Redliński, *Kamień na kamieniu* by Wiesław Myśliwski and *Siekierezada* by Edward Stachura as part of their "Polska literatura współczesna" (Contemporary Polish Literature) collection. The strength of these works derives not only from their intrinsic value, but also from the exotic appeal which they hold for new generations of Poles. In his (open) letter to Janusz Rudnicki, published on the arts pages of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Wojciech Kuczok, one of the well-known writers of post-1989 Polish literature, summarised his impressions of the (post-)peasant prose in the following way:

> I'm reading, my old chap, village prose, just as a reformed town-dweller should, but then, Polish literature is based on the rural village, you wrote about it once, because our biggest stylists and our worthiest bookmen were born of the rural village. Out of all our contemporary writers, Pilot and Myśliwski suffice for me, and Nowak for a poetic second helping. If the average countryman lived only on what these villagers wrote, his reading competences would not be harmed, he would learn how beautiful the Polish language can be and most likely he would not lose on that, since […] [Myśliwski's] every sentence is a motto, to say nothing of those wise full stops, those commas so sensible, those masterful conjunctions. Meanwhile, Pilot's phrase is like traditional village singing and in his narratives the countryside comes across as a wooden, hellish, beetroot-potato, boorish and cruel place, like in his masterly miniature "Polowanie na psy nocą" [Hunting for Dogs at Night] from his debut *Panny szczerbate* [Gap-toothed Maidens], which should be reissued as soon as possible. (2014: 29; trans. mine)

From Kuczok's letter, as well as from the expectations voiced by Anglophone readers and the Book Institute's brochure on Polish modern classics, it seems that at present there is a

favourable atmosphere for the promotion of noteworthy Polish literature from the 1945-1989 period. Peasant trend narratives, previously unattractive to Western publishing business, because of the negative political climate, finally stand a chance of being discovered and appreciated in that part of the world. The gap in the image of life in the Polish rural village shaped by the English translations of Władysław Reymont's *Chłopi* (1904-1909) on the one hand and of the post-1989 works by Andrzej Stasiuk on the other, should be bridged as soon as possible.

3.3. Brothers in Arms: Rejected or Ignored War and Anticommunist Narratives

Until the fall of communism in Europe the discrepancy between the image of Polish literature of the 1945-1989 period in Poland and its image emerging from English-language renditions was the outcome of two main factors: Cold War politics and the reluctance on the part of the male-dominated Anglophone publishing business to accept foreign writing by women authors, however good it was and even if it denounced communism. Books about the political situation in post-war Poland and those treating the subject of the Second World War, especially if they portrayed the Soviet occupation of Polish lands or life and death in Soviet camps, drew the greatest attention of Anglo-American publishers.[90] These two thematic groups were closely followed by futuristic science-fiction narratives, written almost single-handedly by Stanisław Lem.[91] However, as pointed out by Carl Tighe in his *The Politics of Literature: Poland 1945-1989*, even:

> Lem's writings are the product of the specific political and social tensions that developed after the "thaw" of 1956 and the collapse of Party efforts to promote *socrealizm*. In the former eastern bloc, science fiction could sometimes be seen as a form of dissidence, as an oblique way of considering important social and political themes, of side-stepping the censor in the never-ending battle to get unpoliced ideas out of the writer's head and into the heads of a reading public. […] The jump from social and political problems to science fiction may seem huge, but virtually all of Lem's novels may be read as parables about what happens to society and to people when channels of communication are blocked [by censorship control], about the difficulty of making a revolutionary society or fundamentally changing human nature by social and political engineering on the slender basis of the knowledge of humanity that we have at our disposal. As such his novels are profoundly humanistic, a coded critique of that kind of

[90] The tendency for the dominance of these two themes would even be stronger if non-fiction Polish literature produced in the years 1945-1989 and published in English translation were taken into account. See Appendix 8 (p. 353).
[91] See Chart 9 (p. 367).

> societies that developed under Stalin and a plea for a socialism of gradual change and a human face. (1999: 158)

Whether the individual reception of Lem's books in Poland and abroad was political or not, depended ultimately on the reader, but his great popularity among American publishers was definitely stimulated by the Cold War climate. Moreover, the selection process of Polish sci-fi narratives remained a relatively straightforward task since Stanisław Lem faced little competition from other writers in the genre concerned.

On the other hand, the choice of novels and short-story collections depicting wartime suffering and struggle, as well as politics in post-1945 Poland, presents a more complex picture. While the rejection of books belying historical facts so as to suit the victorious Soviet discourse could be hardly surprising (ditto for those fashioned in the spirit of socialist realism), the long-time exclusion of novels and short-story collections exposing the shocking extent of nazi crimes and communist oppression, especially if they were written by women, reveals an ungentlemenly political and cultural bias exercised by Anglo-American translation commissioners. As Magdalena J. Zaborowska writes:

> […] influenced by the Cold War politics and anti-Soviet propaganda, they [American audiences] expected postwar émigré stories to testify to the evils of communism and expected real-life plots in which the most talented East European intellectuals were seeking freedom of speech in the democratic West. The ideological emphasis on and popularity of the male story of success in both [pre- and postwar literary] traditions have resulted in the emergence of a "canon" of sorts, a set of texts privileged by their propagation in scholarship, teaching and publications. (1995: 20)

Whereas misogyny is grounded deep in the history of patriarchal societies all over the world, varying in form and extent, the omission of literary prose documenting German atrocities committed during the Second World War, whether written by men or women, can only be explained by the change in the post-war political landscape, which took place almost immediately after the victory of the Allied Powers over the Axis.

3.3.1. The New Alliance: Inconvenient War Narratives

The post-war shift in international politics from the 1941 wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union to the open rivalry and hostility of the Cold War period had far-reaching consequences for the whole world. Camille Roman characterised the tension in the following way:

> With the close of the war, U.S. national government leaders focused on changing the war plot from World War II to Cold War "containment" with the intent of remapping the globe into a bipolar world of Communism and Free West. (Both sides intended to become the leader of the entire globe eventually). The Soviet Union as well as Communist China and the United States saw themselves as the salvific leaders of each sphere and locked into geopolitical struggle. […] In the immediate postwar period, President Harry Truman as well as [George] Kennan tried to form a new U.S. foreign policy to address anxieties about Communism that relied heavily on new diplomatic goals. The political right led by Joseph McCarthy, Richard Nixon, and J. Edgar Hoover, however, focused on building up a military-driven domestic and foreign policy as well as public hysteria to fuel its decisions. (2004: 82)

While 1945 still saw the appearance of English translations of fiction by communist writers, like Wanda Wasilewska's wartime novel *Po prostu miłość* (1945; *Just Love*, 1945), such publications were no longer advantageous for the Western ex-Allies after the mutual enemy of German nazism had been defeated. In fact, after the war, the very notion of the enemy had to be redefined:

> The transformation of the enemy's face occurred gradually during the late 1940s in the mass media and popular culture. The nation's government felt betrayed by the Soviet Communists in treaty negotiations on their manoeuvring in Germany and their takeover of Eastern Europe following the war. The betrayal was cast in rhetoric similar to the language used when Italy "betrayed" France to Nazi Germany. An essay in 1946 entitled "Red Fascism Confronts Religious America" in *Catholic World*, for example, noted that only color separated "Red Fascism" from "Brown Fascism" (Ginder 491). But Communism was not seen merely as an enemy limited to the Soviet-held geopolitical empire, to be fought primarily on foreign soil in order to prevent attacks on the United States, as had been the case in World War II. The United States was seen as vulnerable from within the nation. (ibid.: 83)

The change in the political arena was especially striking in the United States, where it progressively built up to red-scare McCarthyism, negatively influencing American publishing policies and leading to massive purges of dissenting literature from American libraries all over the world. According to Frances Stonor Saunders:

> American cultural prestige was being ground underfoot as government agencies and missions truckled to McCarthy. The average number of titles shipped abroad by USIA in 1953 plunged from 119,913 to 314. Many books removed from libraries had been burned under the Nazis. Committed to the pyre for the second time were Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain*, Tom Paine's *Selected Works*, Albert Einstein's *Theory of Relativity*, Sigmund Freud's writings, Helen Keller's *Why I Became a Socialist*, and John Reed's

> *Ten Days that Shook the World*. Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience" was banned by the United States at the same time as it was outlawed by Maoist China. Seemingly unstoppable, the McCarthy-inspired cultural cleansing bankrupted America's claims to be the harbinger of freedom of expression.[92] (2013: 162)

Worst of all was the fact that simultaneously with substituting "Brown Fascism" for the red, the scale of nazi atrocities was being played down for the purposes of containing the spread of communism. This was reminiscent of American attitudes to communism and fascism before the US involvement in the Second World War. Roman thus describes the sentiments within the American society at that time:

> While many in the United States concerned themselves with a narrative of anti-Fascism, still others feared the Soviet Union and the global spread of Communism and took part in a narrative of anti-Communism. Although some in this group eventually came to believe that the Soviet Union could help destroy Fascism, many held onto the belief that Fascism was the best way to control the growth of Communism and that this goal must be achieved at all costs.[93] (2004: 29)

The political doctrine of controlling "the growth of Communism" "at all costs" became shockingly relevant in Western countries after the military struggle was over. Since nazism as an ideology was irreversibly bankrupt, the scale of its atrocities had to be hushed whenever such silencing could secure victory over communism. Examples range from Operation Paperclip, in which individual fascist criminals happened to be whitewashed in

[92] Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein, as well as Dorothy Parker, Arthur Miller, Langston Hughes, Lillian Hellman and Charlie Chaplin were among the fifty people who were exposed as "dupes and fellow travelers [who] dress up communist fronts." Their photos illustrated an article in *Life* magazine entitled "Red Visitors Cause Rumpus" devoted to the 1949 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in New York, which was "an outgrowth of the cultural conference of 1948 in Wrocław, Poland – at which the U.S. writer and artist were described as producing 'disgusting filth' marred by the dollar sign" ("Red Visitors… 1949: 39), see Attachment 25 (pp. 404-405). Irena Szymańska, a longtime publisher and translator working for Czytelnik and PIW, two prestigious Polish publishing houses, reminisced: "In August 1948, the famous World Congress of Intellectuals in Defence of Peace took place in Wrocław, organised mainly by Borejsza. […] I went to the congress in order to get in touch with foreign writers who were to take part in it. The list of names was impressive and the event promised to be fascinating. Unfortunately, already on the first day, the chairman of the Union of Soviet Writers, Alexander Fadeyev, gave a terrifying speech, in which he attacked everything which didn't glorify the Soviets. Accusations and threats were heard. When Fadeyev called T. S. Elliot 'a running dog of imperialism,' the whole British delegation took offence and left. A sorry atmosphere prevailed, the first visible sign that the Cold War had begun" (2001: 46; trans. mine).

[93] One such supporter of nazi Germany and Adolf Hitler was Henry Ford. In his essay "The Story Behind *The Plot Against America*," Philip Roth writes: "Out of choice, virtually nobody in our Jewish neighborhood owned a Ford automobile, despite its being the most popular car in the country" (2004). After the war, the Ford Foundation was used by the CIA as a financial conduit and therefore: "the Ford Foundation began to commission work at MIT's Center for International Studies, the agency's academic think tank, set up by CIA and headed by a former agency deputy director" (Prados 2006: 93).

order to serve the United States with their scientific expertise and knowledge,[94] to the shelving of the *German Concentration Camps Factual Survey* (1945), the British Ministry of Information documentary about the horrible reality in German concentration camps.[95]

Post-war politics of Western countries soon made it exigent that the German population be no longer bombed with the "bad memory" of the heinous acts some of them committed and it required that Germany's industry and economy be rebuilt with the help of its former enemies from the capitalist world. One of the reasons behind this approach was the fact that Germany, and to a much lesser extent Austria and Italy, had to bear the burden of accommodating millions of displaced persons, expellees and refugees who found themselves in the Western zones of the country as a result of wartime and post-war operations. Since none of the Western Allies' governments was willing to accept such massive numbers of immigrants, it was decided that they would stay in occupied Germany. Rebecca West, a British writer and journalist, reporting on the Nuremberg trials in 1946, wrote three years later:

> The blame for the presence of the displaced persons rested primarily on the Germans, for most of them had been brought in by the Nazis as slave labour;[96] but they had remained in Germany because they were not Communists and Mr. Churchill and Presidents Roosevelt and Truman had imposed communism on their countries without consulting the inhabitants. Then there were the expellees, whose presence was entirely due to the Allies. They were the groups of German origin in East European countries which the Potsdam Conference had agreed to remove from the places where their ancestors lived for centuries and sent to Germany. There were also the refugees from the Eastern Zone of Germany, who were fleeing from Russian inefficiency. In these categories there were about ten million people. (2000: 126-127)

[94] Operation Paperclip was a post-war political programme aimed at denying German scientific expertise and knowledge mainly to the Soviet Union, but also to the United Kingdom (Johnson 2004: 184-186). See also: Eric Lichtblau, *The Nazis Next Door: How America Became a Safe Haven for Hitler's Men*, New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014.

[95] The 72-minute documentary produced by Sidney Bernstein was left unfinished for almost 70 years and the premiere of the reconstructed film did not take place until 2014. Although the footage served as evidence at the Nuremberg and Lüneburg trials in 1945 and was used in the 22-minute American documentary *Death Mills* (1945), directed by Billy Wilder and produced by the United States Department of War, the film itself was soon suppressed by the British authorities. The reason behind the suppression is the fact that Bernstein's film became "a political inconvenience" at the time when "the British thought the Germans needed to be nurtured as allies against the growing power of the Soviet Union" (André Singer [in:] Jeffries 2015) and when "Britain was dealing with Zionists agitating for a Jewish homeland in the British mandate of Palestine" (Branko Lustig [in:] Jeffries 2015).

[96] Significantly, West fails to mention that apart from slave labourers many displaced persons, commonly referred to as DPs, were former inmates of nazi concentration camps and prisoners of war.

Having the Western Allied Powers in mind, West stated: "[After the war] Germans […] lift[ed] a burden of moral guilt off the shoulders of the rest of us" (ibid.: 126). André Singer, the director of *Night Will Fall*, a 2014 film which chronicles the making of the 1945 documentary *German Concentration Camps Factual Survey*, confirmed West's diagnosis: "Some of those who were liberated [from concentration camps] remained in those camps for five years after liberation. Often they had nowhere else to go – certainly not to Britain or the US. We didn't want them" (qtd in: Jeffries 2015). Paradoxically, while real victims of the war had nowhere to go outside DP camps, many nazi criminals, from concentration camp guards to high-ranking officers, went to the United States after the Second World War and quietly settled into new lives. Eric Lichtblau's *The Nazis Next Door: How America Became a Safe Haven for Hitler's Men*, gives evidence to the cynical use of Hitler's minions by the American government, the CIA, the FBI and the U.S. military in the Cold War against communism:

> The conditions faced by the survivors inside the Allied DP camps after Germany's defeat that fateful spring of 1945 were revolting in their own right. What made their confinement even more unthinkable was that, all the while, their Nazi tormentors were scattering to the winds. With few obstacles in their path, thousands of Hitler's helpers were heading to America, visas in hand, to start their lives anew. The flight of the Nazis, in the face of the survivors' brutal treatment at the hands of their Allied rescuers, amounted to one final, damning indignity. The chilling irony could be reduced to simple math: every Nazi who managed to get a golden ticket out of Europe for passage to America meant one fewer "displaced person" in the Allied camps who would be able to get out. Visas to America, especially in the early months and years after the war, were precious and few; with more than seven million people across Europe left stateless, only forty thousand people were admitted to the United States in the first three years after the war, despite calls for America to open its shores. Lingering anti-Semitism meant the denial of visas *en masse* to Holocaust survivors crammed into the DP camps. Yet Nazi collaborators and even the SS members in Hitler's reign of persecution, men who had proudly worn the Nazi uniform, were often able to enter the United States as "war refugees." Thousands of Nazis sneaked in on their own, easily gaming the American immigration system. But hundreds more had help – from senior military and intelligence officials at the Pentagon, the CIA, and other agencies who believed that the new immigrants – despite their obvious Nazi ties, or sometimes because of them – could help vanquish the Soviet menace. No one hated the Soviets more than the Nazis, officials in Washington liked to say, and they wanted to exploit that enmity. (2014: 1-2)

In 1945, attitudes to Germany were changing fast, also in the United Kingdom. As André Singer stated:

> […] "government priorities shifted. What seemed like a good idea in [April] 1945 became a problem by June and July." The British needed the German people to "pick up the pieces and help energize the destroyed Germany [sic] economy. They didn't want to demoralize the people further by rubbing in their guilt, and the *German Concentration Camps Factual Survey* would not have helped restore confidence."(qtd in: King 2015)

It must have been exactly for this reason that until the 1960s Anglo-American translation commissioners were prone to avoid the publication of wartime narratives by Polish writers which recalled nazi atrocities. If renditions of such books appeared, they were usually brought out by, or in cooperation with, Polish publishing houses, such as Polonia or Roy Publishers. In her 1991 foreword to the English translation of Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Popiół i diament*, discussing the unethical behaviour of one of its characters, Antoni Kossecki, a former Gross-Rosen prisoner, Barbara Niemczyk wrote the following:

> […] people – even witnesses to his crimes – would just as soon not be reminded of the dark sides of their own natures. History seems to have proved him right. This argument has been waged again and again in postwar history. The zeal with which Nazi war criminals were prosecuted in Nuremberg by the victorious Allies soon gave way to indifference or even to a deliberate disregard once the wartime alliance fell apart and Cold War hostilities began. Former allies now became enemies and defeated enemies were enthusiastically supported as friends and buffers against "Communist aggression." The people of Berlin who cheered the armies of the Third Reich became courageous defenders of freedom during the Berlin Airlift. As a Pole, commenting on the respective economic and political situations in Poland and West Germany in the 1970s, remarked, "It's difficult to believe *we* won the war."[97] For forty-four years there existed a "good Germany" and "the other Germany." Which was which depended on one's perspective. From a Soviet point of view, the vestiges of Fascism remained only in West Germany, while from the Western viewpoint, the tendency toward totalitarianism and blind obedience to authority was retained only in East Germany. Events of the last year, and in particular the reunification of Germany, have shown the absurdity of this formula of dividing the world into "good" and "bad" countries or peoples. The problems and anxieties posed by German reunification are a direct result of the artificial postwar division of Europe and have little to do with which side won the war. History is written by the survivors, however, and wars interpreted by the victors. (1991: xi)

[97] When in July, 1959, Maria Dąbrowska, who lived through the Warsaw Uprising and saw the destruction of Poland's capital, went to attend the 30th PEN Congress in Frankfurt on the Main, she was overcome by dejection on seeing the affluence of West Germany and its people. Filled with sad reflections, she left the Congress after two days and returned to Warsaw, which at that time was still undergoing postwar reconstruction (Rusinek 1982: 161-163).

Selective translation policies, adopted by Anglo-American commissioners and publishers towards Polish literature, became part of this interpretation. Although on the whole English renditions of narratives about the Second World War and politics in post-war Poland are to be found among the three most numerous thematic groups in the studied material[98] they were carefully scrutinised before they could appear in book form, especially in the first decades after the war.[99] Some of them, like Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Popiół i diament* (1948; *Ashes and Diamonds*, 1962),[100] were censored, some were brought out with considerable delay, while others, are still awaiting their turn to be rendered into English.

The tendency to ignore wartime narratives deemed in Poland as definitive accounts of the Polish and Jewish experience of nazi-inflicted atrocities, did not escape the attention of more contemporary observers of post-war trends in Polish-English literary translation. In 1975, during plenary discussions of the 3rd International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature, Magnus Jan Kryński, chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Duke University and translator of Polish literature, blamed the post-war absence of the English translation of Zofia Nałkowska's *Medaliony* (1946)[101] on Cold War circumstances. He also gave examples of belated translations, such as Adolf Rudnicki's *The Dead and the Living Sea* (1957),[102] Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Ashes and Diamonds* (1962) or Tadeusz Borowski's *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories* (1967).[103] Kryński argued that English translations of these works appeared at the time when the theme of war had already lost its significance in the United States (*Materiały / III Międzynarodowy…*, 1976: 147-148). However, the translator must have been aware that it was precisely due to the temporal distance from the times of the Second World War that renditions of Holocaust narratives could start appearing in English on a much larger scale than before.[104] As far as Polish writers are concerned, the resurfacing of Holocaust literature in

[98] See Chart 9 (p. 367).
[99] The question of the Polish-German Oder-Neisse borderline (not recognised by West Germany until 1970) and the issue of Recovered Territories were especially delicate and problematic from the American point of view, since they were areas on which the official government in Poland and Polish émigré organisations saw eye to eye. See Attachments 12 (p. 389) and 26 (p. 406).
[100] For a discussion of the censored English translation of *Popiół i diament* see Chapter Two (pp. 119-121).
[101] The English translation of *Medaliony* did not appear in its entirety until the year 2000. See Appendix 4 (p. 305).
[102] It has to be noted that *The Dead and the Living Sea* (1957), in Jadwiga Zwolska's rendition, criticised by Kryński, was brought out by the Polonia Publishing House. More importantly, Kryński seems not to have been aware of the earlier translation of Rudnicki's stories, done by Henry Charles Stevens and published by Roy and Dobson as *Ascent to Heaven* (1951) (see Appendix 4, p. 305). Therefore, even if not really delayed, it was on the initiative of Polish and not Anglo-American publishers that Rudnicki's stories were brought out in English.
[103] See Appendix 4 (p. 305).
[104] Hanna Kister, wife and business partner of the publisher Marian Kister, reminisces that while the war was coming to an end, people in the United States, where Kisters' publishing house Roy started operating in 1941,

English translation in the second half of the 1960s was connected not only with the passage of time, but also with anti-Semitic purges in communist Poland, which could serve as a proof of the totalitarian nature of the system, akin to fascism.[105]

It was politics too, which stood behind the famous Writers from the Other Europe series, thanks to which Borowski's and Andrzejewski's books reached much larger audiences than when they were first published, becoming widely known and discussed. Brought out by Penguin between 1975 and 1987, it offered paperback reprints of classic works by Czech, Polish, Serbian and Hungarian authors from Central Europe, available in the USA, Canada, the UK, Australia and New Zealand. The series was initiated and edited by Philip Roth, who, following his visits to Prague, "[had] come [to develop] personal friendships – and also an interest in current Czech literature, which in turn, [had] encouraged [him] to read in translation the works of novelists who [had] been working throughout Eastern Europe since the end of World War II" (Roth 1976b: 7). On his return to the United States, Roth devised a plan supposed to increase the readership of his Czech fellow writers:

> [Publishing them] was impossible in Czechoslovakia. But it might be made to happen in America and looked to be a good thing all around: good for the writers' sense of being heard, maybe even good for their political protection – international fame had undoubtedly helped Solzhenitsyn – and good for American readers. Back in New York, he took this argument and a list of works he admired to an editor at Penguin Books. The result was a series, Writers from the Other Europe, which began publication in 1974 and continued until the Velvet Revolution and its concomitant freedoms, seventeen volumes later, in 1989. These books had all been published in English, and the translations were not new; but "each book had been brought out, singly, by a different publishing house, as a good deed," Roth says, "and it died." Not only was he bringing books together but, as general editor of the series, he was continually reading new candidates, selecting cover art, and outfitting each volume with an introduction by an esteemed, attention-getting writer. […] "I wanted to send them into the world with a flourish," Roth says, lightly waving his hand. "It was my own little Hogarth Press." (Roth Pierpont 2013: 92-93)

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did not want to read any more books about it (Kister 1980: 122). It was also during the war that translations of Holocaust literature, here understood as literary depictions of nazi atrocities against Jews and non-Jews, were unpopular with Anglo-American publishers. Laurence Weinbaum reports that in June 1944, the publishing house Dial Press declined to bring out Mary Berg's manuscript saying that the market was flooded with books about concentration camps and nazi persecution. The book was eventually published by L. B. Fischer in February 1945 (Weinbaum 2010: 253-255). See Appendix 8 (p. 353).

[105] Such an argument, however, was double-sided, since it could generate anti-Polish feelings among American Jews, which, in turn, might have been inconvenient for the American government in terms of international politics, especially at the time when governmental and financial support for the anti-communist opposition in Poland was needed. As Madeline G. Levine writes: "After martial law was declared in Poland in December 1981, for example, there was a flood of letters to the editor of the *New York Times* and other American newspapers, expressing the sentiment that Poles, as inveterate anti-Semites, deserved to have their democratic aspirations crushed" (Levine 1992: 15, n. 18).

Indeed, Writers from the Other Europe gave a second lease of life to the English translations of books by Borowski and Andrzejewski.[106] Both, *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen* and *Ashes and Diamonds*, as well as all the remaining books in the series, were provided with a note from the general editor and an introduction (or an afterword) by writers or literary critics based in the West, frequently political dissidents themselves.[107] In a general note to the first Penguin edition of Borowski's book, Roth declared:

> The purpose of this paperback series is to bring together outstanding and influential works of fiction by Eastern European writers. In many instances they will be writers who, though recognized as powerful forces in their own cultures, are virtually unknown in America. It is hoped that by reprinting selected Eastern European writers in this format and with introductions that place each work in its literary and historical context, the literature that has evolved in "the other Europe" during the postwar decades will be made more accessible to an interested American readership.[108] (1976a: 5)

Interestingly, in the 1980 edition of the book, the American addressee of Roth's series is exchanged for the more general, Western one and so instead of "unknown in America," we read "unknown in the West," instead of "more accessible to an interested American readership," there stands the phrase "more accessible to a new readership" (Roth 1980: 5). More importantly, Roth's, as well as the overall Western perception of Eastern European countries as forming "the other Europe," even before the closure of the Iron Curtain (as evidenced by the original publication date of such narratives as *The Street of Crocodiles*, *Sanatorium Under the Sign of the Hourglass* and *Ferdydurke*)[109] might explain why many Polish writers, among them Borowski and Andrzejewski, became supporters of communism.

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[106] Tadeusz Borowski's *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories* (1967) appeared for the first time in the Writers from the Other Europe series in 1976 (reprinted in 1976, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1987); in 1992 it was brought out in the Penguin Classics series. Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Ashes and Diamonds* (1962) was first published in the Writers from the Other Europe series in 1980 (reprinted in 1982); in 1991 it came out in the European Classics series by the Northwestern University Press in a fully restored version (reprinted in 1996). See Chapter Two (pp. 119-121).

[107] Books by Polish writers included: Tadeusz Borowski's *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen and Other Stories* (1967; Penguin 1976), translated by Barbara Vedder and introduced by Jan Kott, Tadeusz Konwicki's *A Dreambook for Our Time* (1969; Penguin 1976), translated by David John Welsh and introduced by Leszek Kołakowski and *The Polish Complex* (1982; Penguin 1984), translated by Richard Lourie and introduced by Joanna Rostropowicz-Clark, Bruno Schulz's *The Street of Crocodiles* (1963; Penguin 1977), translated by Celina Wieniewska and introduced by Jerzy Ficowski and *Sanatorium Under the Sign of the Hourglass* (1978; Penguin 1979), translated by Celina Wieniewska and introduced by John Updike, Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Ashes and Diamonds* (1962; Penguin 1980), translated by David John Welsh and introduced by Heinrich Böll and Witold Gombrowicz's *Ferdydurke* (1961; Penguin 1986), translated from the French by Eric Mosbacher and introduced by Czesław Miłosz.

[108] The fact that all the books in the series were reprints shows that translation fees must have been at stake in Roth's negotiations with Penguin, which pragmatically avoided paying for renditions of new titles.

[109] With the inclusion of pre-war narratives into the series, Roth adds in his general editor's note the word "particularly" in front of "during the postwar decades" (Roth 1980: 5).

Their inclination for social justice was polarised towards encompassing communist ideology because of the sheer fact that the historical, cultural, political and economic ties between France, the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany proved to be stronger than the sense of loyalty of the first three countries towards Poland at times when it was in need of support from its Western allies, but which had long been part of "the other Europe" in their eyes.[110] In her interesting study of English translations of contemporary Polish novels, Paulina Gąsior remarks:

> There is an ongoing debate in Translation Studies regarding issues of power, asymmetries and linguistic imbalance that operate in translation. Yet both the theoretical propositions and case studies have tended to be limited to the postcolonial context and entrapped within the opposition of the colonized and the colonizers. Cultural relations within Europe itself, particularly between the East, the countries scarred by the Soviet occupation, and the capitalist West still demand attention. […] The dichotomy between the West, (Western) European Union and the Eastern European countries is still persistent both in front page European politics and in common beliefs. The inner divisions and hierarchies within Europe are a legacy of the cold war and communism, and Eastern European countries, including Poland, continue to be constructed as the Other, despite significant changes in the political and economic arena. The common use of the phrase "the other Europe" is meaningful in this respect and the contexts in which it is used are multiple (see *Cinema of the Other Europe: The Industry and Artistry of East Central European Film* (Iordanova 2003), *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945* (Walters 1988), or the Penguin series "Writers from the Other Europe" edited by Philip Roth). In an important collection *Central Europe: Core or Periphery?* (Lord 2000) Croatian writer, Slavenka Drakulić criticizes the Western Europe (and the EU) for excluding Eastern Europe as the "other Europe" and in this way limiting the notion of the European identity.[111] (2010: 147-148)

[110] Being perceived as "the inferior Other" by the Western powers applied in a similar way to Jews, a fact which in the context of post-war international politics took an especially appalling twist. Eric Lichtblau thus reports on the living conditions in post-war Jewish DP camps: "With word of the survivors' conditions filtering back to Washington, President Truman sent a special emissary, Earl Harrison, a former immigration commissioner who was dean of the University of Pennsylvania law school, to inspect the DP camps and assess the plight, in particular, of the Jewish refugees. […] Harrison's blistering conclusions cast a pall over America's postwar euphoria. His findings were an indictment of the United States' refugee effort in the harshest terms he knew. 'As matters now stand,' Harrison wrote to Truman after touring the DP camps, 'we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them.' The Nazis' victims, the dean found, were being victimised once again – but this time by the Americans. General George S. Patton, the gruff war hero whose soldiers ran the American DP camps, fumed over Harrison's findings. […] 'Harrison and his ilk believe that the Displaced Person is a human being, which he is not, and this applies particularly to the Jews who are lower than animals,' Patton wrote in his diary after learning of the scathing report to Truman" (2014: 4-5).

[111] More on the topic of the "otherness" of Eastern Europe as a quality still desired by Anglo-American readers see pp. 217-218 in this chapter. The Polish version of Gąsior's paper is available as "Jak poskromić Europę Wschodnią? O angielskich przekładach polskich powieści współczesnych w perspektywie postkolonialnej"[in:] Halina Kubicka, Olga Taranek (eds), *Kody kultury: interakcja, transformacja, synergia = The Codes of Culture: Interaction, Transformation, Synergy*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Sutoris, 2009, 108-116.

With this inherent historical divide between East and West, it is no coincidence that the war declared on Germany in September 1939 by Poland's British and French allies turned out to be phoney, that in France the Vichy government happily collaborated with the nazis, and that in Yalta Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill renounced Poland and other countries of the "other Europe" to the Soviet sphere of influence.[112] Due to this fact, the "other Europe" of Roth's series became to signify mainly communist Europe. Only such authors, promoted by Roth, as Géza Csáth (1887-1919) and Bruno Schulz (1892-1942) did not live to experience the rule of stalinism in post-war Europe. In fact, all of the authors in the Writers from the Other Europe series could be divided into three groups: scandalising, sexually disturbed writers, such as Géza Csáth and Bruno Schulz, émigré authors, and real or, in Borowski's case, assumed dissidents from communism, living in countries of their origin. The series included such Polish authors as: Bruno Schulz, whose mastery of the word and masochistic tendencies, together with his Jewish background and tragic death, must have appealed to Roth, the émigré Witold Gombrowicz (1904-1969), whose writings for many years were banned in post-war Poland, dissidents Jerzy Andrzejewski (1909-1983) and Tadeusz Konwicki (1926-2015), as well as Tadeusz Borowski (1922-1951), whose suicide was blamed not only on the haunting memories of his Auschwitz imprisonment and complicated personal life, but also, if not mainly, interpreted in the context of his post-war flirt and disenchantment with communism. In his introduction to *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories*, published in the Penguin edition of the book, Jan Kott gave the following description of Borowski's arriving at and departing from communism:

> Two stories by Borowski, "This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentleman" and "A Day at Harmenz," written back at Monachium as soon as he had been freed [from Dachau-Allach by the American Seventh Army], were published in Poland before his arrival. They produced a shock. […] Yet at the same time it was clear to everyone that Polish literature had gained a dazzling new talent. […] At the beginning of 1948 he became a member of the Communist party. […] In the summer of 1949 he was sent to Germany to work in the Press Section at the Polish Military Mission in Berlin. […] When Borowski returned to Warsaw after a year in Berlin, it seemed that he no longer had any doubts. […] For him literature had become only agitation. "I don't care if they lament my wasting myself on journalism. I don't consider myself a vestal virgin consecrated to prose." It was only to his closest friends that he confided in nightly conversations that – like Mayakovski – he had "stepped on the throat of his own song." I think he was fully aware of the meaning of those words; he

[112] Meanwhile, Stalin skilfully played his cards, letting the Poles believe that social reforms would be introduced at no cost to small private ownership or freedom of artistic expression. The true extent of Soviet oppression was not to start till 1949, while the horrifying scope of stalinist terror was not to be revealed publicly until 1956.

> had, after all, described many times how the guards in the camps would place a shovel across the neck of a prisoner and jump on it with their boots until he expired. [In July 1951, l]ess than fifteen months after his return from Berlin Borowski committed suicide.[113] (1976: 18-20)

By selecting *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories* to be reprinted, Roth was able to promote Holocaust literature and discredit communism at the same time. This could not have been possible with such narratives as Zofia Nałkowska's *Medaliony* (1946), Stanisław Grzesiuk's *Pięć lat kacetu* (1958), Zofia Posmysz's *Pasażerka* (1962) and *Wakacje nad Adriatykiem* (1970), or Bogdan Wojdowski's *Chleb rzucony umarłym* (1971). Although all of them were powerful testimonies of human suffering and humiliation in nazi concentration camps or Jewish ghettos, none of these books had been translated into English when Roth started his Writers from the Other Europe series, consisting exclusively from reprints of already existing renditions. This absence, in turn, was conditioned by the fact that none of these writers was a political dissident in the first place and that as such their writings were uninteresting to Anglo-American publishers even when Holocaust literature started resurfacing in the late 1960s. By limiting the series to the reprinting dogma, Roth and Penguin reinforced the stereotypical perception of Eastern Europe and committed its literature to the political vicious circle from which it had no chance to break free, at least in mainstream publishing, before the fall of communism in Europe.[114]

English renditions of narratives giving testimony to nazi atrocities, written by other than dissident authors, started appearing on a more numerous scale when interest in Polish-Jewish relations began to increase abroad, following anti-Semitic purges in Poland. In "1967-1971 under economic, political and secret police pressure, over 14,000 Polish Jews were forced to leave Poland and relinquish their Polish citizenship."[115] The book which initiated this trend among Anglo-American publishers was Henryk Grynberg's *Żydowska wojna* (1965), translated by Celina Wieniewska as *Child of the Shadows* (1969).[116] Previously, the

[113] For a discussion of possible reasons behind Borowski's death see "Uciekł tam, gdzie mógł, czyli zagadka śmierci Tadeusza Borowskiego" [in:] Anna Bikont, Joanna Szczęsna, *Lawina i kamienie: Pisarze wobec komunizmu*, Warszawa: Prószyński i S-ka, 2006, 200-211.

[114] On the other hand, there exist literary works of outstanding quality which were already suppressed in their source context and, being inconvenient for the Poles at home, as well as in émigré circles, were never promoted for translation. Such was the case of Stanisław Rembek's *Wyrok na Franciszka Kłosa* (1947; The Franciszek Kłos Death Sentence) featuring the first anti-hero of post-war Polish literature (Nowakowski 2000: 8). Franciszek Kłos, a policeman from a provincial town, dutifully serves the German occupiers, killing Jews and members of the Polish resistance. Subsequently, he is condemned to death and executed by the Polish Home Army soldiers.

[115] After a website devoted to a documentary by Francine Zuckerman, *We Are Here*.
See http://www.weareherethefilm.com/.

[116] For more on the circumstances of the English rendition of this novel see Chapter Two (p. 149).

topic of Jewish suffering in German-occupied Poland was represented in English translation only by Adolf Rudnicki's short stories, brought out in the 1950s by or in cooperation with Polish publishers. After the English rendition of Grynberg's novel, the interest in what happened to the Jews became the key factor behind the selection of wartime narratives, also those written by non-Jewish Polish authors. The new generation of outstanding translators of Polish literature, often former students of Czesław Miłosz or Wiktor Weintraub, contributed to the Jewish Lives series, published by the Northwestern University Press, in which, among others, appeared: Hanna Krall's *Sublokatorka* (1985; *The Subtenant*, 1992), translated by Jarosław Anders, Henryk Grynberg's *Zwycięstwo* (1969; *The Victory*; 1993), translated by Richard Lourie, Bogdan Wojdowski's *Chleb rzucony umarłym* (1971; *Bread for the Departed*, 1997), translated by Madeline G. Levine, or Zofia Nałkowska's *Medaliony* (1946; *Medallions*, 2000), translated by Diana Kuprel.

A literary masterpiece of terse, succinct prose and unarguably a classic of Polish literature, Nałkowska's collection appeared in English translation in its entirety 64 years after its publication in Poland. Before, three out of eight pieces from the *Medaliony* collection, "Dno," "Profesor Spanner" and "Przy torze kolejowym," found their place in English-language anthologies.[117] "Przy torze kolejowym" tells a story about a Jewish woman who escapes from a train transporting people to a concentration camp and lies shot in the knee by the railway track, dying in the presence of local Polish people who are too afraid of each other to help and hide her, since such a merciful act is punishable with the death sentence by the German occupiers. The English version of the narrative first appeared in book form in Edmund Ordon's translation after the infamous anti-Semitic events took place in Poland and can be found in Charles Angoff's *Stories from the Literary Review* (1969).[118] Another rendition of the story was included in Helena Goscilo's *Russian and Polish Women's Fiction* (1985), translated by the editor. In contrast to the foreign editors who concentrated on the interrelations in the Germans–Poles–Jews triad, the Polish ones focused on narratives which exposed German atrocities. The story "Dno" revoked the terrible degradation of human beings imprisoned in concentration camps, starved to the point of cannibalism, while "Profesor Spanner" brought up the topic of the production of soap made of human fat by the

[117] These include: Andrzej Kijowski's *Contemporary Polish Short Stories* (1960), Adam Gillon and Ludwik Krzyżanowski's *Introduction to Modern Polish Literature: An Anthology of Fiction and Poetry* (1964), Charles Angoff's *Stories from the Literary Review* (1969), Jerzy Strzetelski's *An Introduction to Polish Literature* (1977) and Helena Goscilo's *Russian and Polish Women's Fiction* (1985). See Appendix 4 (p. 305).
[118] Originally published in *The Literary Review* 3, 1967, 261-265.

NSDAP member and Director of the Danzig Anatomical Institute, Rudolf Spanner. As Krystyna Dąbrowska writes:

> The volume was a result of Nałkowska's work at the Central Commission for the Investigation of the Nazi War Crimes. In these short pieces, Nałkowska presents the fate of the victims and survivors through an aesthetic and objective narrative. In general, she gives voice to her characters rarely adding a comment to their accounts of events. […] The reportage-like, restrained writing style of *Medallions* is combined with Nałkowska's deep empathy for human suffering – an empathy which shows her sensitivity to every gesture of her protagonists, to how they speak and what they do not speak about. (2010)

Just like Seweryna Szmaglewska's *Dymy nad Birkenau* (1945; *Smoke over Birkenau*, 1947), or the fictionalised memoirs *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu* (1946; *We Were in Auschwitz*, 2000) by Janusz Nel Siedlecki, Krystyn Olszewski and Tadeusz Borowski,[119] Nałkowska's *Medaliony* are an unforgiving indictment of humanity, narrated in an impersonal, emotionally detached manner. It is only in the piece which closes the collection that Nałkowska introduces an authorial comment with words which became the book's motto: "People dealt this fate to people."[120]

The fact that *Medaliony* did not appear in English translation until the year 2000 may have been for several reasons. First, if powerful anti-nazi literature had not been barred from influencing the consciousness and conscience of the Anglo-American readership shortly after the war, it could have engendered opposition against providing economic assistance to Germany and it may have won support for the Jewish cause in the Mandatory Palestine at the time when the British authorities feared an Arab revolt.[121] Secondly, Nałkowska, who died in 1954, did not live to become an oppositionist; therefore, unlike many of her fellow writers, she was no asset for politically-stimulated translation commissioners. Always the supporter of the underprivileged, after the war "Nałkowska joined the editorial staff of the literary weekly *Kuźnica* (Forge)," she also "went on to serve as a member of the National Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa), the Legislature (Sejm Ustawodawczy, from 1947), and the Diet of the Polish People's Republic (Sejm PRL, from 1952)" (Kuprel 2000: xiii). The writer, however,

[119] *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu* is officially categorised as a book of memoirs, if only highly fictionalised. In fact, it contains texts by Tadeusz Borowski, classified later as short stories included in his *Pożegnanie z Marią* (1948) and *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories* (1967). A similar generic problem refers to Seweryna Szmaglewska's *Dymy nad Birkenau* (1945), translated into English by Jadwiga Rynas and published by Henry Holt as *Smoke over Birkenau* (1947), as well as to Sara Nomberg-Przytyk' *Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land* (1985), translated by Roslyn Hirsch from the unpublished Polish manuscript.

[120] In Diana Kuprel's translation (Kuprel 2000: xv and 47).

[121] Although "[i]mmediately after the war Holocaust writing was not popular" (Drabble and Stringer 2012: 336), Seweryna Szmaglewska found a sympathetic publisher for her memoirs, albeit only in the United States. See Appendix 8 (p. 353).

was too intelligent not to realise that her wholehearted support for social justice and post-war reforms were used instrumentally by the communists to legitimise their seizure of power. After the introduction of the socialist realism principle to Polish literature in January 1949, they immediately attacked her literary works as not complying with the doctrine, at the same time requesting her to fulfil factual and representative roles in the Union of Polish Writers. Commenting on this state of affairs in March 1949, Nałkowska wrote: "First they turn you into a rag and then they wave it" (Nałkowska 2000a: 50; trans. mine). Additionally, the negative review of Nałkowska's *Medaliony* penned by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński for the London weekly *Wiadomości* (Herling-Grudziński 1947: 2) must have also influenced its reception abroad.

3.3.2. Unfair: Disparaged Narratives by Women Writers

The dissidence key by no means was the only factor which prevented the admission of outstanding Polish writers to translated English-language literature. The sheer fact of being a woman excluded many a writer from the recognition and promotion granted to men. The pre-1989 Anglo-American literary polysystem almost by definition located texts by women authors in its peripheries (Russ 1983). The same pattern applied to literature chosen for translation into English, even if the source narratives were artistic masterpieces and subscribed to the thematic concerns promoted on Anglophone markets. The usual terms employed in the literary criticism of those, and earlier, days had an openly sexist character, appropriating all positive characteristics for the male *genus* and leaving all the negative connotations to the female one. Not surprisingly, it was men who decided about this unfair distribution of attributes. When the émigré writer Barbara Toporska won the 1966 award of the London-based *Wiadomości* for her first book *Siostry* (1966), published by the Literary Institute in Paris, it was praised by Michał Chmielowiec in the following way: "I read this novel twice without diminishing interest and with growing emotion. […] This masculine and manly book is at the same time very feminine in the good sense of the word (1966: 3; trans. mine). However, neither the award for the best book of the year by a Polish émigré writer, nor the supposedly positive, but in fact condescending adjectives used in its praise helped the novel to become noticed by Anglo-American translation commissioners. Even such a generally open-minded writer as Gustaw Herling-Grudziński ascribed to this chauvinist critical tradition when commenting on Nałkowska's *oeuvre*:

> Nałkowska wrote the "masculine" *Medaliony*, "old-wives'," gossipy *Węzły życia*, which, years ago, I dubbed "necrophiliations of *Sanacja*"[122], and the astonishingly "masculine" *Dzienniki*. I don't think I have to repeat that this division has nothing to do with evaluative judgements, professional feminists should immediately hold back the swelling stream of protest and outrage. What I mean here are the particular distinctive features, which happen to be positive. (2000: 36; trans. mine)

By appealing to "professional feminists" to "immediately hold back the swelling stream of protest and outrage" (ibid.), Herling-Grudziński secures a safe position for himself, in which there is no place for discussion, since, while the approval or disapproval of respective works by Nałkowska is a matter of individual tastes and could certainly be shared with the critic by many a feminist, instead of "masculine," or "old-wives-like," the works should simply be described as "good" or "bad," or even "gossipy." The usage of the male-gendered adjectives to express the appreciation and the employment of the female-gendered ones to express the opposite evaluation is neither fair, nor true. Men also write well or badly and they gossip too, so the fact that *Medaliony* and *Dzienniki* are literary and philosophical masterpieces does not make them "masculine."[123] Fortunately, a gender-free evaluation, like the one by Ryszard Kapuściński, is becoming more widespread at present. The famous reporter wrote: "I reach for Nałkowska's books as though I were reaching for a drink of spring water. It is the only Polish which I trust, the only Polish in which I can, with confidence, ground my own thoughts" (Nałkowska 2000b: the front-cover blurb).

In his review of Jarosław Anders's *Between Fire and Sleep: Essays on Modern Polish Poetry and Prose*, Benjamin Paloff, American poet and translator of Polish literature into English, remarks:

> Polish literature in English is a men's club, one that reduces such outstanding literary artists as Zofia Nałkowska and Debora Vogel to footnotes in the sexual biography of Bruno Schulz. Unfortunately, and partly because of the image of Polish literature that Anders challenges, women have not been translated into English as readily as their male colleagues. When they have been, they have generally garnered polite smiles more than serious consideration. (2009: 36)

[122] In the original: "nekrofiliacje sanacyjne." The neologism "necrophiliations" is a combination of "necrophiliac sensations." For the explanation of the term *Sanacja* see Chapter One (p. 39, n. 20).

[123] The appropriation of women's intellectual powers by masculine discourse is only one of many strategies to disparage women's writing in general. For more examples see the fascinating, though somewhat depressing, study by Joanna Russ, *How to Suppress Women's Writing*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press (reprinted in 1984, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1994, 1997, 2005). Before the war, the very fact of literary creativity by Nałkowska was looked down on by another Polish writer, Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski, who stated: "This is an elegant lady, who insists on being a writer" (qtd in: Rusinek 1982: 34; trans. mine). Apparently, Kaden-Bandrowski did not have to insist on being one, he simply was one, at least in his own perception.

The international and gender-based power relations resulted in what Susan Bassnett and Piotr Kuhiwczak described as "a double marginalisation" of Polish women writers (1988: xi). Before 1989, such marginalisation was especially strong, pertaining in general to all the East European and non-European cultures. Lately, Dubravka Ugrešić proposed the following mental exercise:

> The platitude about literature not recognising borders isn't one to be believed. […] [T]he difference is in the translation of the author's position, it's in the way our imagined customs officer assesses the author and his or her work. […] Let us imagine for a moment that I and my (in this case imaginary) fellow writer John head to the North Pole to each write an essay about it. Let us also imagine a coincidence: John and I return from our trip with exactly the same essay. John's position doesn't require translation, it's a universal one, simply by the virtue of the fact that John is a man, and English or American. My position, on the other hand, will be translated as East European, post-communist, Balkan, post-Yugoslav, Croatian, and female, all told: a particular one. My description of the white expanse will be quickly imbued with projected, i.e. invented, content. Customs officers will ask John whether in the white expanse he encountered the metaphysical; they'll ask me whether I encountered any of my countrymen, and my thoughts on the development of Croatian eco-feminism. Maybe they'll ask why I live in Amsterdam, having assumed that I must live in Croatia. They consider John a great writer. I am inevitably considered a kind of literary tourist guide, to the Balkans naturally. (2011: 1-2)[124]

The tendency of marginalising women was addressed by Magdalena J. Zaborowska in her book *How We Found America: Reading Gender through East European Immigrant Narratives*, in which the scholar challenges "the so-called East European canon, which in American literature is dominated by the celebrated male dissident avant-garde (e.g., Czesław Miłosz, Joseph Brodsky, Milan Kundera)" (1995: 6). As an example, Zaborowska refers to the case of the Writers from the Other Europe series:

> The well-known Penguin series edited by Philip Roth, Writers from the Other Europe, does not feature a single woman writer. By presenting the "Other Europe" as written exclusively by men, Roth establishes a one-gender cultural model for audiences in the United States and Western Europe. […] The literary merit of émigré authors promoted so far in the United States notwithstanding, the exclusion of women from the emerging canon seems to indicate that either there have been no good female writers coming to the United States from East

[124] The English translation of Ugrešić's text does not feature the ironical dénouement of the whole situation, present in the Polish version of the essay, which states that: "Most probably they won't publish my text at all, but John's will appear with great pomp" (Ugrešić 2012: 17; trans. mine). The English version seems to be more of a summary, unless it was derived from a different version of the source text than the Polish rendition.

> Europe or that their stories have not coincided with what the mainstream editors, translators, and audiences in the West wanted to promote, popularize, and hear. Assuming that there are always interesting women writers to be found if we care to look for them – and my subsequent chapter on Maria Kuncewicz[125] proves that – I would argue that the virtual absence, or marginalization, of women in recent discussions about East European literature in the United States results from a long history of reductive readings of immigrant writings by the host culture. (ibid.: 18-19)

Although Zaborowska focuses on immigrant writers, the patriarchal model which she describes also applies to those women of letters who were denied entry onto the English-language publishing market *via* translation, without physically coming to the United States.[126] When directly challenged by Zaborowska on his all-male choice, "Philip Roth explained some of the reasons why he excluded women writers from his series in a brief note of 22 May 1991 that he sent […] in answer to [her] inquiry"(ibid.: 299, n. 16). Roth wrote:

> I chose from the books already translated into English those that I thought were the strongest. I didn't care if they were by men, women, transvestites, or eunechs (sic). I am a liberal spirit. The series is now kaput. For obvious reasons. (qtd in: ibid.)

Zaborowska's comment followed:

> Any Slavic scholar knows that there were many strong texts by women at that time when Writers from the Other Europe was put together. I am still puzzled by the "obvious reasons" why the series is now "kaput." Does Roth mean that the end of communism in East Europe removed the need to study literature of its "satellites"? Or does "kaput" imply that the series ended when all the good writers (male) had been covered? The term "Other Europe" is very ironic in that it suggests that the male authors included in the prestigious series are the others, with women being the assumed dominant. (ibid.)

Zaborowska deliberately ironises Roth's response, in which he relegated texts written by women to the margin of abnormality, together with transvestites and eunuchs.[127] While

[125] While Zaborowska decided to use the simplified, male form of the writer's surname (possibly having her English-speaking readership in mind), in the main text I use the gendered suffix "-owa," which Kuncewiczowa herself used in the Polish context.

[126] Other than gender-based "English-translation visa denials," to continue the migration metaphor, are studied in more detail in the two preceding sections of Chapter Three, devoted to Edward Stachura (section 3.1) and peasant-prose (section 3.2). Although some Polish writers reached as far as the translatorial Ellis Island through translations which appeared in English-language periodicals, unpublished dissertations or online (*vide* Stachura's case, section 3.1. in this chapter), they are still awaiting an entry permit onto the mainstream publishing market.

[127] "Anomalousness" is one of the strategies to disparage women's writing described by Joanna Russ (Russ 1984: 76-86).

undoubtedly she realises that the discontinuation of the Writers from the Other Europe series was conditioned by the fall of communism in Europe (Roth's "obvious reasons"), she protests against disguising its factual purpose – the anti-communist propaganda – as a purely literary interest in the promotion of the "outstanding and influential works of fiction by Eastern European writers" (Roth 1976a: 5). Although indeed works by male authors promoted by Roth were examples of good literature, his disregard for those outstanding works of fiction produced by women which existed "at that time when Writers from the Other Europe was put together" (Zaborowska 1995: 299, n. 16) bore a harmful effect on the image of Eastern European literature, falsifying it in the eyes of the Anglo-American readership. In short, the real bone of contention between the writer-editor (Roth) and the writer-scholar (Zaborowska) is that the former takes the political interpretation of literature of the Cold-War period for granted, while the latter refuses such an approach to the field of letters, additionally protesting against the appropriation of universality (male and female, dissident and non-dissident literature) by what is particular (male and dissident writings only), a *sui generis* literary *pars pro toto*. As Zaborowska notes:

> I have nothing against exclusively male gatherings, but am bothered by the usurping by prominent male literary figures of an exclusive right to the rhetoric of exile. Literature in exile is written by men *and* women and should be recognised as such, instead of being presented as a stereotypical male construct, one that can never represent the complexities of this literary phenomenon. (ibid.: 318, n. 19)

This conclusion, although devoted to "literature in exile," the proper field of Zaborowska's study, perfectly applies to the whole body of literary production. Despite his declaration of being "a liberal spirit," it is highly unlikely that Roth familiarised himself with translated literature from Eastern Europe created by women. In this respect, his approach to compiling the series, reminds us of Harold Bloom's vision of which literary works and names form the Western canon of literature.[128] When, in a conversation about Bloom's *The Western*

[128] Among the twenty-six canonical authors, introduced in the main body of the book, Bloom included only one Slavonic writer: Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910). The remaining core canonical writers in Bloom's *The Western Canon* are: Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1343-1400), Michel Montaigne (1533-1592), Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), William Shakespeare (1564-1616), John Milton (1608-1674), Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin; 1622-1673), Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), William Wordsworth (1770-1850), Jane Austen (1775-1817), Charles Dickens (1812-1870), Walt Whitman (1819-1892), George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans; 1819-1880), Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), Emily Dickinson (1830-1886), Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), Marcel Proust (1871-1922), Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), James Joyce (1882-1941), Franz Kafka (1883-1924), Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), Jorge Luis Borges (1899-1986), Pablo Neruda (Neftali Ricardo Reyes Basoalto; 1904-1973), Samuel Beckett (1906-1989). The convergence of cultures and the question of Oriental influence upon Western literature is to some extent addressed in the appendices to the book.

Canon: The Books and School of the Ages (1994), Piotr Wilczek asked Adam Czerniawski, translator of Polish poetry and drama into English, why Bloom had mentioned only six writers from Poland in his book: Bruno Schulz, Czesław Miłosz, Witold Gombrowicz, Stanisław Lem, Zbigniew Herbert and Adam Zagajewski,[129] Czerniawski responded:

> He simply doesn't know our literature and only those few names were known to him. Naturally, he cannot be blamed for this fact, since he cannot know everything, but he can be blamed for the fact that he pretends to know everything. Almost all of 19th-century British poetry was squeezed into the [Western] canon [presented in the appendices to the book]. According to these criteria, not only Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Norwid should be accommodated there, but also Malczewski, Lenartowicz and Asnyk. If Krasiński were German and Prus French, *Nie-Boska* [*komedia*] [1835; *The Undivine Comedy and Other Poems*, 1875][130] and *Lalka* [1890; *The Doll*, 1972][131] would have long been included in every European canon. Our literature was neglected since, back then, we did not exist as an independent country. We should never forget about the political aspects of canonisation. (qtd in: Wilczek 2001: 35-36; trans. mine)

Setting aside the discussion of Bloom's specific understanding of the word "Western," figuring in the title of his book, the lack of real acquaintance with, other than Russian, East European literatures, pointed out by Czerniawski, was undoubtedly one of the factors directing Bloom's selections.[132] Symptomatically, all three men, Bloom, Roth and Czerniawski, want to see literature mainly as a male domain, hence the problem lies not only in the lack of knowledge, or availability, but also in the *a priori* unwillingness to accept literary works written by women. Sadly, without a true representation of the strongest texts

[129] The six Polish writers are listed in Appendix D to the book, containing a number of literary works significantly claimed by Bloom to represent "the Chaotic Age." Without addressing the issue directly, Bloom applies double standards to the multi-ethnic Western- and Eastern-European countries: the former he identifies by their names or the regions they occupy, the latter (with the exception being Russia), by the languages of its component nations. Examples include (in the order of appearance): Italy, Spain, Catalonia, Portugal, France, Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia in the first group, and Russia, Serbo-Croat, Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Modern Greek, Yiddish, in the second. Such an approach is purely ideological and cannot be historically justified, since all the Polish writers listed by Bloom created in the period after Poland had regained its statehood, after dozens of years under foreign partition. Altogether, there are four appendices in Bloom's compendium, in which he "suggest[s] [reading English] translations wherever [he has] derived particular pleasure and insight from those now readily available" (Bloom 1995: 497). Thus, Bloom's Western literary canon is clearly confined to available English translations.

[130] There exist many fragmentary renditions of *Nie-Boska komedia* into English. The earliest one appeared in the second volume of *Eastern Europe and the Emperor Nicholas* (1846, two editions), London: T. C. Newby, edited and translated by Charles Frederick Henningsen. Henningsen's *opus* appeared in German translation by August Kretzschmar in the same year. For other English translations of Krasiński's *Nie-Boska komedia* see Marion Moore Coleman (ed.), *Polish Literature in English Translation: A Bibliography*, Cheshire, CT: Cherry Hill Books, 1963, 57.

[131] David John Welsh's English translation of the first chapter of *Lalka* can be found in *The Polish Review* 4, 1963, 39-69.

[132] On Bloom's reliance on available translations of Polish literature see Adam Czerniawski, "Polish Poetry in the West, or the Canon that Fired Late," *Thumbscrew* 8, 1997, 86-99.

from any source literature in any target language, projects which are supposed to promote that literature in translation, but which base on what has already been translated, often following a political or gender bias, lead to the fossilisation of the *status quo*. While Roth's series focused, at least on a declarative level, on writers from Eastern Europe as a whole and while English renditions of texts originally brought out after, as well as before 1945, stood a chance to be republished there, it would be interesting to see what choice the editor had from among English translations of novels or short-story collections by Polish women writers, originally created and published between 1945 and 1989. Relying on the data collected in Appendix 4 (p. 305), such works could be divided into six categories, comprising three bigger and three smaller groups, the latter represented by one book each.[133]

The first of the more numerous groups includes six books by such well-established names of Polish literature as Maria Dąbrowska (1889-1965), Maria Kuncewiczowa (1895-1989) and Zofia Kossak (1889-1968). Typically, almost all of them were introduced to the Anglophone readership by, or in cooperation with, Polish publishers, either by émigré ones, such as Roy Publishers, which, as the pre-war Rój, had already brought out Zofia Kossak's and Maria Kuncewiczowa's novels, or by those based in Poland, such as Polonia, the publisher of Maria Dąbrowska's stories in English rendition. Since Roy ceased to operate in 1972, the only exception to this rule was Maria Kuncewiczowa's *Tristan* (1974). Rewritten in English by the author, which significantly lowered the publication costs, the novel was published by the American firm established and run by George Braziller, known for the promotion of foreign authors.

Although, unlike Kossak's Catholic novels, texts by Dąbrowska and Kuncewiczowa had a strong universal appeal, their authors never assumed the role of professional oppositionists. Instead, they stayed faithful to their humanist beliefs, pointing at systemic fallacies and wrongdoings in the ideological systems on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Maria Kuncewiczowa's case of "double exile," first from occupied Poland (initially controlled by fascists, next by communists) and then from the émigré circles back to Poland, is especially interesting. In *Natura* (1975; Nature), one of her diary-notebooks, a crossover of genres so much appreciated in Tadeusz Konwicki's writing, Kuncewiczowa reminisced:

[133] After 1989 only five narratives by women writers appeared in English translation out of the old literary repertoire analysed in this study: three of them were published by university presses and the two remaining ones were singular self-publishing enterprises. These were Hanna Krall's *The Subtenant*; *To Outwit God* (1992) and Zofia Nałkowska's *Medallions* (2000), which came out in Northwestern University Press, as well as *Testaments: Two Novellas of Emigration and Exile* (2005) by the émigré writer Danuta Mostwin, which appeared in Ohio University Press. *A Distinguishing Mark* (2004) by the Polish composer and violinist, Grażyna Bacewicz, was published in Canada by Krzyś Chmiel, while Halina Poświatowska's *Story for a Friend* (2006) was brought out by the American self-publishing company AuthorHouse.

> (Since) I had not signed the Polish writers' London manifesto against being printed in Poland, I went to the American officials with a statement that I just had decided to publish there. An American with whom I had a discussion about this over lunch did not seem either shaken or eager to protest. But the so called Polish Desk (at Radio Free Europe) rang a big alarm. (…) the demise of "Kowalscy" (Kuncewicz's radio novel) was suddenly announced and any collaboration with me was immediately dissolved. The latter was implemented so zealously that even two tapes (of the radio novel), already recorded by the actors, were destroyed. […] As soon as I regain freedom of speech in my country, I claimed, *as a writer* [original emphasis], I cease to be a refugee. … This argument did not convince the humanists, whose humanism worked exclusively within the borders of their own nation. One also had to deal with a phenomenon that with the years became a form of psychological paralysis: to defend by all means the stance once taken, without paying heed to the changes in one's own and the other worlds. It was considered a betrayal to disrupt such thinking addictions and – last but not least – the source of glamour and income. *As a result, beside the true idealists, there appeared a kind of a professional refugee, a person who made his/her handicap into a career, and who condemned people striving for normalization of life as opportunists*. (qtd in: Zaborowska 1995: 212-213; emphasis added)

The fact that Kuncewiczowa perceived herself as a world citizen,[134] who strove for normalisation of life, made her an unlikely choice for the strongly politicised Writers from the Other Europe series. The lack of legal recognition as a citizen of the world made the writer, self-ironically, compare her status to a phantom-like being.[135] Kuncewiczowa, who initiated the formation of the International PEN Club Centre for Writers in Exile in 1950 in London and became its honorary president, is now largely forgotten in the UK and the USA because she failed:

> to write decisively against the communist state and thus to fulfill the popular image of a dissident. Because she was more interested in writing about how politics and history influence people, instead of declaring her ideological loyalties, her texts could not be used to strengthen the image of freedom in this

[134] As Zaborowska reports: "After the war had ended, Kuncewicz and a group of other stateless writers in London were looking for support to be able to work and survive abroad. The world was recovering from the atrocities of the Nazi reign, and people were sending letters to the PEN Centre condemning its efforts to aid stateless authors. […] This hostility towards foreign writers was one of the reasons why Maria Kuncewicz conceived the idea of, and later designed, her appeal to the United Nations for a 'world citizenship.' […] She hoped that the United Nations would privilege the stateless authors and give them an opportunity to travel without forcing them to declare political and territorial loyalties" (ibid.: 204). This, however, proved to be unrealistic. See also Kuncewiczowa's article "Refugees as World Citizens," *London Times*, 10th March 1949, 6a.

[135] When Kuncewiczowa realised that she would never be officially recognised as a "citizen of the world," "she decided to become naturalised in the United States, which she saw as one of the nations reflecting the world's diversity most clearly" (ibid.: 205-206). She obtained American citizenship in 1960, a fact that allowed her to stay independent in her native Poland, to which she returned for good in 1968.

> country [the United States] by providing condemning contrasts with the lack of freedom in East Europe.[136] (ibid.: 206)

Apart from works by Dąbrowska, Kuncewiczowa and Kossak, children's literature constituted another niche for Polish women writers whose books were originally published and subsequently translated into English between 1945 and 1989. Among them were: Jadwiga Wernerowa (*Squirrel Redcoat*, 1961), Helena Bechlerowa (*Teddy and the Seesaw*, 1963), Krystyna Pokorska (*Make Me a Farm*, 1963), Cecylia Lewandowska (*The World of the Bee*, 1964), Maria Niklewiczowa (*A Sparrow's Magic*, 1970), Magda Leja (*The Boy from the Skyscraper*, 1977) and Barbara Lipska (*A Week of Adventures in Africa* series). The fact that even Leja, a contemporary of Marek Hłasko and Marek Nowakowski and just like them an anti-communist dissident, was promoted in Anglophone countries through her story for children is a good illustration of this type of literary creativity being considered an appropriately female domain not only in the Anglo-American culture, but also on home ground, since the book was published in both language versions, Polish and English, by KAW (Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza). Moving aside such factors as the high quality and political neutrality of Polish literature for children, which therefore constituted a showcase export product of the Polish publishing industry, Leja's shift from adult, existential writing to children's books had much to do with the double ethical standards for men and women authors. What was more easily accepted in the narratives by her male fellow-writers, received much harsher criticism when it was created by women. Both Magda Leja and Monika Kotowska, the English-language debut of the latter connected with literature on the Jewish theme, were ostracised for their overt treatment of sexual issues, since they reversed the stereotypical literary situation when it was women who were observed and described through the male gaze. Resented for this fact by most male reviewers and editors (Kuncewicz 1994: 26-28), it is no coincidence that works by women writers tended to be more readily included in anthologies edited by women. This was also true for stories penned by Leja. Ignored by male anthologists, Leja's "Jokes" appeared in Maria Kuncewiczowa's *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today* (1962) and her "The Forbidden Kingdom" was published in Celina Wieniewska's *Polish Writing Today* (1967).[137]

[136] For the same reason, Kuncewiczowa's text written on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the restoration of Poland's independence in 1918 was drawn onto the black list of the Paris *Kultura*. See Maria Kuncewiczowa "50-lecie niepodległości," *Twórczość* 12, 1968, 113-115 and "Czarna lista," *Kultura* 3, 1969, 73-74.

[137] In *How We Found America: Reading Gender through East European Immigrant Narratives*, Zaborowska states: "The virtual absence of women writers from the early anthologies and series depicting postwar East

Starting with the year 1970, another group of literary works by Polish female writers was allowed to enter the world of English-language letters on the wave of the rising interest in Holocaust literature. Before 1989, this chance was given to Monika Kotowska (*The Bridge to the Other Side*, 1970), Mina Tomkiewicz (*Of Bombs and Mice: A Novel of Wartime Warsaw*, 1970), Sara Nomberg-Przytyk (*Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land*, 1985)[138] and Ida Fink (*A Scrap of Time and Other Stories*, 1987).

Three more books by female writers from the studied material, translated into English by 1989, entail Wanda Wasilewska's wartime narrative *Just Love* (1945), Zofia Romanowiczowa's psychological novel *Passage through the Red Sea* (1962) and Halina Bonikowska's *Island Diary: Short Stories* (1989). Out of the three writers, only Wasilewska[139] and Romanowiczowa were recognisable and recognised names. Therefore, while the books by Wasilewska and Romanowiczowa were brought out in English by Hutchinson and Harcourt, Brace & World respectively, Bonikowska's stories appeared in a small publishing house, Artex Press, connected with the Polish American diaspora.

Since the Writers from the Other Europe series opened in 1975 with the publication of Milan Kundera's *Laughable Loves* and closed with two books by Konrad György in 1987, and because the earliest first-time published English translation reprinted in the series dates back to 1961 (Witold Gombrowicz's *Ferdydurke*) and the latest to 1982 (Milan Kundera's *The Joke* and Tadeusz Konwicki's *The Polish Complex*),[140] it is possible, although not necessary, to assume that this was the default time frame for literary works to have been accepted into the series. Finally, even after imposing all the political and temporal restrictions, factual and theoretical, Roth would have been left with three powerful texts written by Polish women authors to be potentially included in his series. Those books would be: *The Bridge to the Other Side* (1970) by Monika Kotowska, *Of Bombs and Mice: A Novel of Wartime Warsaw* (1970) by Mina Tomkiewicz and *Passage through the Red Sea* (1962) by Zofia

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European writing in the 1960s, 1970s, and even 1980s can be easily traced to a patriarchal model of the curriculum and to outdated perceptions of so-called 'literary greatness'" (1995: 18).

[138] A communist who, for her sense of social justice, spent five years as a political prisoner of conscience in pre-war Poland, and, after the war broke out, five more in the Białystok Ghetto, Stutthof and Auschwitz, Nomberg-Przytyk fell prey to racial purges in the Polish People's Republic, when she was removed from the Polish Journalists Association in Lublin in October 1968. See "Czarna lista," *Kultura* 6, 1969, 123-124. The original of *Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land* could not be published in Poland at that time since she had not agreed to erase all references to Jews. See Chapter Two (p. 114-115).

[139] For the discussion of the reasons why books by Wasilewska were no longer published in English after 1945 see pp. 222-223 in this chapter.

[140] According to the data collected by Velichka Ivanova (Ivanova 2011: 11-12).

Romanowiczowa. However, even the last-mentioned writer, an émigré and a publisher herself, did not draw Roth's attention.[141]

This fact confirms the most striking finding in Magdalena J. Zaborowska's analysis, already quoted above, stating that women's narratives were not "what the mainstream editors, translators, and [allegedly] audiences in the West wanted to promote, popularize, and hear" (1995: 19). This quote encompasses two further possibilities: either Western decision-makers in the publishing world did not want to hear other than dissident stories, which indeed were written mainly by men, or, what is even more important for the present study, they rejected dissident stories written by women, because they encroached into the public sphere reserved for men, thus relegating them into the Orwellian non-existence "memory hole."[142] Zaborowska, who devoted one of the chapters in her study to Maria Kuncewiczowa, focuses on the first implication:

> As a female author and a political refugee, Kuncewicz is necessarily defined in opposition to other writers, mostly male, who comprise the new type of an artist – the East European dissident – and whose fame attests to the preferences of American publishers, editors, and translators. She finds herself on the outskirts of a specific canon that the texts of these writers establish in the dominant culture. For example, whenever postwar Polish literature is mentioned in the United States, the names of Czesław Miłosz, Stanisław Barańczak, or Zbigniew Herbert are usually cited. Those who are acquainted with Philip Roth's Penguin series, Writers from the Other Europe, may also remember Tadeusz Borowski, Jerzy Andrzejewski, Tadeusz Konwicki, or Bruno Schulz. However, when asked about any Polish women authors, an American reader who claims an interest in East European literature would probably be at a loss.[143] Because the vast majority of the available literature

[141] A laureate of the most important émigré literary prizes, including those awarded by the Kościelski Foundation, London *Wiadomości* and Paris *Kultura*, in 1971 Romanowiczowa received the Alfred Jurzykowski Award. Following this distinction, Jan Librach, the Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America (PIASA), applied to the Jurzykowski Foundation, managed after Jurzykowski's death by Alexis Coudert, for the financing of the English translation of Romanowiczowa's book *Łagodne oko błękitu* (1968), already translated into French (*Le chandail bleu: roman*, 1971). To no avail (Karkowski 2013: 133).

[142] The same mechanism of "disappearing" women from history and erasing their participation in spheres reserved for men in conservative societies can be traced back to ancient times when Hatshepsut's, the Egyptian pharaoh's, name was hammered out from inscriptions in her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari. That the popular memory of women's initiatives and achievements is short-lived might be confirmed by the fact that during the 6th International Congress of Pen Clubs, which took place in 1928 in Oslo, delegates from London brought up a question asking if women should be allowed a Pen Club membership. The motion was dismissed as ridiculous and the English Centre delegates were reminded that it was a woman, Catherine Amy Dawson Scott, who had initiated and co-founded the International Pen (Rusinek 1982: 59). At present women's images, among them the former American Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton's, and Germany's Chancellor, Angela Merkel's, are repeatedly edited out from photographs in ultra-orthodox Hasidic newspapers.

[143] The Polish poet, Wisława Szymborska, who received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1996, may now be added to this list. Speaking with Anna Bikont and Joanna Szczęsna about his anthology, *Postwar Polish Poetry* (1965), Czesław Miłosz said: "I couldn't omit Szymborska in this anthology because I knew some of her volumes and her position in Polish poetry. Still, it is a strange anthology, evidence of its editor's sexism. There

> denouncing communist evils comes from male pens, it is not surprising that women writers from Poland have been relegated to obscurity. A seemingly outdated division between the public-political and intimate-domestic, between male and female spheres, still influences the particular canon of Polish literature in America. (ibid.: 178)

The final sentence in this quote is certainly still true for the image of Polish literature from the 1945-1989 period. Moreover, in the same sentence Zaborowska unintentionally identified the reason also underlying the second type of exclusion of literary narratives by women writers. Even if their stories were political and anti-communist in their expression, they used to be ignored by Anglo-American translation commissioners.[144] Sometimes, they were even rejected by Polish-language émigré publishers. *Czarna iluminacja* (1981; Black Illumination), Zyta Oryszyn's first book published by the underground press,[145] might serve as a perfect

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are only two women there: Szymborska with the poem "Jestem blisko…" and Urszula Kozioł with "Larum." Volumes from Poland used to be delayed in reaching me and only this may be my excuse." In the same conversation Miłosz added that his views on hierarchy in poetry evolved. In the third, expanded edition of the anthology (1983), there are eight poems by Szymborska. "It was simply my perspective which changed […] and I got rid of my scandalous male habits" (Bikont and Szczęsna 2012: 342; trans. mine).

[144] The same difficulties pertained in the domain of non-fiction. Here, the lack of an English version of Barbara Skarga's *Po wyzwoleniu 1944-1956* (1985), originally published by the Literary Institute in Paris, under the pseudonym Wiktoria Kraśniewska, is especially striking.

[145] Before that, three novels by Oryszyn were officially published: *Najada* (1970), for which she received the Wilhelm Mach Award for a literary debut, *Melodramat* (1971) and *Gaba-Gaba czyli 28 części wielkiego okrętu* (1972), a parable of domestic in-fights between various political factions and social strata in the People's Republic of Poland, veiled as a picaresque adventure story, set in the 17th century and depicting the life of castaways on a desert island, who, instead of supporting each other, struggle for power and domination. In order to be published officially, the novel was cast in such an Aesopian language that even Henryk Bereza misinterpreted its real message (Sulej 2013: 13). Interestingly, it was a fragment of this book that was translated into English for the promotion of Polish literature abroad; see Zyta Oryszyn, *The Frigate* (a fragment), trans. by Edward Rothert, *Polish Perspectives* 7-8, 1973, 36-46. Earlier, an English-language review of Oryszyn's *Melodramat* appeared in *Polish Literature*, a literary periodical for foreign readership published in Poland; see Zenona Macużanka, "Feminine Prose," trans. by Marsha Brochwicz, *Polish Literature* 1, 1972, 24-25. Because of Oryszyn's growing involvement in the anti-communist opposition, she was kept under surveillance. In a report from 19th April 1971, Andrzej Zaniewski, a mediocre writer and communist confident, wrote: "The relationship [between Edward Stachura and Zyta Oryszyn, married in the years 1962-1972] has been pretty stormy because of the dynamic temperaments of both partners. However, Stachura's influence [on Oryszyn's writing] is dominant. Most probably, it was he who inspired, and maybe helped, Oryszyn in her literary debut. Nasty tongues assert that Stachura wrote her first book, but this information is hard to verify. Whatever the case may be, Stachura's help seems unquestionable, which is indicated by certain stylistic features in Zyta Oryszyn's novels" (Buchowski 2014: 324-325; trans. mine). As Marian Buchowski, who examined Zaniewski's files in the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN), commented: "TW [secret collaborator] 'Orłowski' [Zaniewski's pseudonym] could fabricate his reports as he pleased, writing about Stachura's 'unquestionable help' evident in 'certain stylistic features' in Oryszyn's writings, since no one was going to check it. There are no similarities between the two writers, not only stylistic" (ibid.; trans. mine); see also p. 177, n. 11 in this chapter. Indeed, while an existential and philosophical approach to life, as well as a specific sense of humour, were common to both Oryszyn and Stachura, the prose of the former author is much more dense and features a greater structural complexity and artistic maturity. It must be clear to any objective reader that the two writers were outstanding literary talents in their own right. What is especially interesting to more conscious recipients of literature is the intertextual play between Oryszyn's *Najada* (1970) and Stachura's *Cała jaskrowość* (1969). The books remain in dialogue, having been created almost simultaneously at the time when the two authors lived together. Stachura's philosophy and experiences find their reflection in many characters of Oryszyn's story, while Oryszyn is indirectly present in Stachura's narrative and both writers quote their mutual friend, Wincenty

illustration of how such rejection worked. Written in terse, succinct language it showed the ease with which young, well-meaning people could be ideologically manipulated in the communist system. Since the book could not be officially published, Oryszyn sent it to Jerzy Giedroyc's *Kultura*, who declined its publication (Sulej 2013: 13). Most probably, this exclusion stemmed from the fact that Oryszyn's prose seemed too experimental and revolutionary in its linguistic form and content than could be accepted in literature created by an unknown woman writer, [146] even if no such constraints prevailed in Giedroyc's judgement of the nonconformist literature by Karol Irzykowski or Witkacy, as the editor of *Kultura* himself recalls (Giedroyc 1994: 167). It seems that, until fairly recently, progressive prose created by women needed much more time to be allowed into the English-language literary polysystem than its counterpart by male authors. While *Czarny potok* (1954; *Black Torrent*) by Leopold Buczkowski appeared in English in 1969, novels by Barbara Toporska, Zofia Posmysz or Zyta Oryszyn are still awaiting translation into that language.[147]

The grotesque was one of the main literary devices that Oryszyn used in her oppositionist trilogy, consisting of *Czarna iluminacja* (1981; Black Illumination), *Madam Frankensztajn* (1984; Madam Frankenstein) and *Historia choroby, historia żałoby* (1990; The History of Illness, the History of Mourning). Grotesque is also present in her award-winning *Ocalenie Atlantydy* (2012; The Saving of Atlantis),[148] of which the third work, *Historia choroby, historia żałoby*, constitutes a part. As the writer stated:

> I didn't invent any special language in order to describe People's Poland. It was the language that found me. I wrote about Poland in the well-known language of the grotesque and the grotesque is, to quote from *Z głowy* by Janusz Głowacki: "an elevated (not always) farce plus a mongrelled (not always) tragedy." (qtd in: Sasinowski 2013; trans. mine)

Różański, *alter ego* of Witek from *Cała jaskrawość*, who famously said: "Sweat (on my back) reminded me that I am a human" (Kępiński and Sikorski 1997: 20; Oryszyn 1970: 96-97; Stachura 1969a: 74).

[146] In the publications of the Literary Institute, Oryszyn's name features only twice: in a review of her debut peasant prose novel *Najada*, see Maria Danilewiczowa, "Krajowe nowości wydawnicze," *Kultura* 3, 1972, 131-137 and as a signatory of an open letter to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, whose authors unfairly criticise Nowak's account of Józef Mackiewicz's nazi-collaboration case, see "List otwarty do Jana Nowaka," *Zeszyty Historyczne* 89, 1989, 234-235.

[147] Although, in general, books from the old literary repertoire are rarely translated, the recent American success of Mieczysław Weinberg's opera to a Russian libretto by Alexander Miedviediev (rendered into English for performance purposes), based on Posmysz's *Pasażerka*, might hopefully result in an English rendition of the novel. So far, the novel has been translated into Hungarian (1963), Czech (1964), Russian (1964), Bulgarian (1965), Slovak (1965), Latvian (1966), Lithuanian (1966), Moldovan (1966), Romanian (1967), German (1969 – East Germany), Japanese (1971), Ukrainian (1972) and Kazakh (1986).

[148] In 2013, *Ocalenie Atlantydy* received two literary awards: the *Gryfia*, *Nagroda Literacka dla Autorki* and *Nagroda Literacka Gdynia*.

The artistic prose of Oryszyn's trilogy, as well as that of *Ocalenie Atlantydy*, is certainly one of the best descriptions of everyday life and politics in postwar Poland, postulated by Adam Zagajewski, who, in his essay "Rzeczywistość nie przedstawiona w powojennej literaturze polskiej" (The Unrepresented Reality in Post-war Polish Literature), wrote: "If a new generation, comprehending and creative, does not come, our world will stay undescribed and for future generations it will be as mysterious as Atlantis is to us" (1974: 46). Why Zagajewski expected the representation of the reality in People's Poland to come from a new generation is not quite clear. Maybe the poet's turning away from the present and looking expectantly into the future was dictated by the sense of hopelessness at a time before well-organised underground publishing started in 1976. What is certain, though, is that Oryszyn's trilogy, as well as *Ocalenie Atlantydy*, indeed saved from oblivion the grim, not rarely shameful, reality of what life in post-war Poland could be, next to its more positive emanations. The power of these narratives lies not only in the recognition of the fact that evil comes from the externally imposed absurd and often cruel system that communism in the worst stalinist years was, but also that it comes from within human nature, irrespectively of external circumstances.

Czarna iluminacja finally appeared in Polish in 1981 in the independent publishing house NOWa with the help of Oryszyn's friends and writers, Janusz Anderman and Jacek Bierezin, as part of Biblioteka *Pulsu*, a series of underground publications (Sulej 2013: 13). This fact shows that gender-based discrimination in most cases has a systemic rather than individual misogynistic nature, although such instances are not rare either.[149] As even in Western culture men and women are to a large extent and for most of the time during their formative years active in their own gender groups of close friends or, later, co-workers, loyalties also tend to form along the gender divide. Because it is mainly men who are in control of the public sphere and in the position of decision-making, it is usually women who are withheld from prestigious social roles, whatever they happen to be. However, if personal friendship and respect come into play, such divisions may be overcome. Unfortunately, the recognition which Zyta Oryszyn achieved in Poland did not translate, in both senses of the word, into her appreciation by Anglo-American publishers.[150] Although novels and short-

[149] In his autobiography, Jerzy Giedroyc recalls that when he discovered that Jerzy Stempowski rejected texts written by women on an *a priori* basis, notwithstanding their true literary merit, he resigned from relying on Stempowski's judgement in this matter (Giedroyc 1994: 211).

[150] However, in 1997, Zyta Oryszyn-Kaczyńska became a participant in the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa.

story collections by many other home oppositionists were published in English translation,[151] neither *Czarna iluminacja* (1981) nor *Madam Frankensztajn* (1984) were distinguished in a similar way. This is even more disappointing if we take into account that it was these two works that were republished in 2009 as part of the *Kanon Literatury Podziemnej* series (the Cannon of Underground Literature), meant to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the fall of communism in Poland (Oryszyn 2009: 4).

The reasons behind the omission of these important works of Polish opposition literature might lie in the fact that Oryszyn did not comply to the stereotypical roles imposed on women in patriarchal societies. Not only did she take part in political opposition activities in Poland, she also created strong female characters in prose narratives of outstanding literary value. According to Bartosz Kaliski, the fact that the protagonists of Oryszyn's narratives, drawing plenty from the writer's own biography, were usually adolescent women, makes them today excellent material for psychological and gender analyses (2009: 222). Just as Oryszyn's unprecedented literary style might have discouraged Jerzy Giedroyc from accepting her novel for publication, the fact that her works usually feature fully-blown female protagonists broke the *status quo* in the privileged dissident discourse favoured by Anglo-American publishers. Magdalena J. Zaborowska writes:

> […] in the predominantly male dissident tradition, we follow underground activities against the communist regimes and the heroic defections to the free West. In this tradition women hardly ever emerge as political activists and celebrated émigré dissidents. They are either sexual objects lost in the turbulent times around them – e.g., female characters in Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* – or they are figures too preoccupied with maintaining the domestic sphere to engage in the male-dominated public domain of ideological combat. (1995: 19)

Obviously, such a slanted depiction distorted reality, which in fact was much more complex. Although indeed it was almost exclusively women who were preoccupied with maintaining the domestic sphere, a preoccupation done additionally to their regular out-of-home jobs, and although almost all of the novels and short-story collections presenting the political landscape of post-war Poland were written in the original Polish by male writers, women played a huge, if only less exposed, role in the anti-communist opposition in countries

[151] For example *Brak tchu* (1983; *Poland Under Black Light: With the Author's New Story from Warsaw*,1985) and *Kraj świata* (1988; *The Edge of the World*, 1988) by Janusz Anderman, *Nierzeczywistość* (1977; *A Question of Reality*, 1980) by Kazimierz Brandys, *Moc truchleje* (1981; *Give Us This Day*, 1983) by Janusz Głowacki, *Kompleks polski* (1977; *The Polish Complex*, 1982) and *Mała apokalipsa* (1979; *A Minor Apocalypse*, 1983) by Tadeusz Konwicki, or *Raport o stanie wojennym* (1982; *The Canary and Other Tales of Martial Law*, 1983) by Marek Nowakowski. See Appendix 4 (p. 305).

under Soviet domination, especially in Poland.[152] They also created many outstanding portrayals of everyday life at that time, fictionalised accounts of the Second World War, as well as, like Oryszyn, political novels. By ignoring their contribution in history and culture, also literary, a one-sided and thus unreal picture of 1945-1989 Polish writing is presented.

[152] See Shana Penn, *Solidarity's Secret: The Women Who Defeated Communism in Poland*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005. In her foreword to Penn's book, Irena Grudzińska-Gross addresses the key issue of double axiology applied to activities (even if of the same kind) performed by men and women: "Penn's perspective allows her to uncover an important element in Polish history, an element invisible to her subjects, blinded as they were by the persistence of the Polish romantic tradition, which valorized the activities of heroic men much more than those of women" (Grudzińska-Gross 2005: xiv).

Conclusion

Tempting as it is to state that the most general conclusion of the present study corresponds with Itamar Even-Zohar's claim that cultures translate according to their needs (Even-Zohar 1990d: 47), the scholar's assertion has a serious drawback, namely, that it is verifiable only to some extent. The problem arises with the very term "culture," since, as a polysystemic entity of its own, it consists of numerous agents. Therefore, even if we agree that all translated literary works studied here satisfied the need of whichever "cultural agent" of the literary transfer, we may never be completely certain that texts which were omitted for translation would have been unnecessary or at least any less needed by those at the receiving end of the book-publishing business: the readers. Perforce, the concluding remarks first and foremost pertain to the needs of the translation initiators: writers, translators, publishers or propaganda specialists, who decided which Polish novels and short-story collections of the period 1945-1989 should be accepted into the English-language literary polysystem until and after 1989.

The thematic and quantitative analyses of the literary corpus concerned revealed that the political relations between Poland and Anglophone countries seriously influenced the selection key of works to have been translated. Although narratives about the Second World War were the most popular subject category until and after 1989, before that caesura they were almost on a par with fiction on politics in post-war Poland.[1] Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the majority of the books on the Second World War had a political, anti-Soviet expression. Science fiction was the third most abundant thematic group until 1989, followed closely by children's stories, only because many of the latter were brought out in the 1980s by Polish publishers. The priority of the political concerns is even more evident if only literary works first published abroad or in *samizdat* are taken into account. In this configuration, it is stories about politics in post-war Poland that dominate, followed by the topics of the Second World War and historical novels. Taking into account that most of the historical novels first published abroad appeared in English translation thanks to Polish émigré publishing houses, such as Roy or Poets and Painters' Press, novels on everyday life in post-war Poland take precedence before the historical ones if we limit the research to foreign publishers only.[2] Significantly, novels on everyday life in post-war Poland, published in English translation before 1990, had a decidedly anti-communist twist, either because of

[1] See Chart 9 (p. 367).
[2] See Appendix 4 (p. 305).

their content or because of the political position of their authors, such as Marek Hłasko or Leopold Tyrmand, and were often banned by censorship in their home context.

After 1989, there was an equal number of books about the Second World War and politics in post-war Poland that were first published in their original Polish abroad or in *samizdat*.[3] When treated jointly, with those published originally in Poland, the topic of the Second World War decidedly moved to the fore, which was caused mainly by the increased interest in the subject of the Holocaust. Sci-fi novels and narratives about politics in post-war Poland were the runners-up in the general classification, leaving behind children's stories and historical fiction. Superimposed on Chart 9 (p. 367), Chart 10 (p. 368) reveals that after the political changes of 1989, the number of English translations of books first published officially in Poland in such groups as the Second World War and everyday life in post-war Poland preceded the number of those which originally appeared abroad or in *samizdat*. The only exception to this rule were, not surprisingly, books about politics in post-war Poland, with only one such novel coming out after 1989, i.e. Andrzej Szczypiorski's *Msza za miasto Arras* (1971; *A Mass for Arras*, 1993), its publication motivated by the increased focus on the Jewish topic. Unlike before 1990, it was the interest in things Jewish and Polish-Jewish relations which stood behind virtually all the translations of fictional prose works about everyday life in post-war Poland, with the sole exception of Wiesław Myśliwski's *Kamień na kamieniu* (1984; *Stone Upon Stone*, 2010).

In the light of the above, it seems that the expectations "on the part of British and also American publishers that the change [of 1989 in Poland] will either reveal something that was hidden from the public view by [Polish] censorship, or generate a wave of new and exciting writing" (Kuhiwczak 2007: 155) should be complemented by one more option, this time connected with the Anglo-American polysystem. In fact, as has been demonstrated in the present study, the political change of 1989 revealed, though still only to some extent, something that was hidden from the public view in the West by publishing policies of the Cold War era. The huge operational budget given to the CIA in order to combat communism, among others *via* translated literature, "regardless of commercial viability" (*Final Report of* …1976: 193), gave to Polish literature of 1945-1989 a decidedly political slant, protested against by Jarosław Anders (2009) and Benjamin Paloff (2009).[4] As the latter wittily wrote in his "Cures for the Common Cold War":

[3] See Chart 10 (p. 368).

[4] Abstaining from politics himself, even Witold Gombrowicz had to struggle for literary recognition in the West before he managed to make his international career, largely due to protection from the circles connected with the

> Poland, its capital once the namesake of the Warsaw Pact, is now a member of both NATO and the European Union, and while its literature is hardly a historical relic, our approach to it often risks being just that. (2009: 35)

Sympathetic to Poland's breaking free from its stereotypical image in the Western eye, Paloff has translated contemporary Polish writings by such authors as Dorota Masłowska, Marek Bieńczyk and Andrzej Sosnowski, thus ascribing to one of the three trends in Polish-English literary translation identified by Joanna Rzepa (2011: 355-357), who took into consideration renditions of all Polish prose, poetry and drama, carried out between 1999 and 2009. The three most popular groups distinguished by Rzepa within translated prose works were: renditions of the classics (Ryszard Kapuściński, Witold Gombrowicz, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Stanisław Lem, Zbigniew Herbert and Czesław Miłosz), new Polish prose (Olga Tokarczuk, Paweł Huelle, Andrzej Stasiuk, Jerzy Pilch, Magdalena Tulli and Stefan Chwin) and literature about the Holocaust and the Second World War (Hanna Krall, Tadeusz Borowski, Władysław Szpilman and émigré authors of memoirs, virtually unknown in Poland).

Taking all this into account, it appears that narratives about everyday life in post-war Poland by such writers as Jan Himilsbach, Julian Kawalec, Tadeusz Nowak, Marek Nowakowski, Edward Redliński or Edward Stachura are the real victims of the 1945-1989 cultural Cold War, the 1981-1998 hiatus in the official translation patronage in Poland and the present insufficient promotion of pre-1989 literature. A similar problem concerns war or anti-communist novels and short-story collections by women writers, with the difference that the international politics factor was substituted by or mixed with the patriarchal condescension towards women writers, especially vivid in the Anglo-American literary polysystem by 1989. Writings by Zyta Oryszyn, Zofia Posmysz and Barbara Toporska belong to this group.

In reference to all these and other noteworthy literary names it is even possible to talk about "a lost generation of Polish writers," lost to the English-language readership, since they were born too early to be considered for rendition during the times of the East-West Cold War and too late to be promoted after the political changes took place in Poland. The fact that the old patron of literary translation, the Author's Agency, ceased to play any significant role after the introduction of martial law in 1981 and that the creation of a new patronage body did

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Paris *Kultura* and the Congress for Cultural Freedom, among them Jerzy Giedroyc, Konstanty Jeleński or François Bondy (Giedroyc and Gombrowicz: 2006 and Gombrowicz *et al*.: 1998). In his dedication in Bondy's copy of the French-language *Bakakaï* (1967), Gombrowicz wrote: "My Dear François, it was you who discovered, promoted, supported, defended, imposed and crowned me and I am writhing at your feet with my 20,000 [dollars – Prix Formentor] in absolutely incredible convulsions" (Gombrowicz 1988: 87; trans. mine). That the writer has successfully conquered the western literary mind, may be proved by the presence of his *Ferdydurke* (1937-38) among Emma Beare's *501 Must-Read Books* (2006 and later editions), next to Stanisław Lem's *Solaris* (1961).

not occur until 1998 decided about their long-time oblivion when it comes to promotional activities connected with literary translation.

Even at present the Polish Book Institute, otherwise an active and efficient patron of Polish literature, has launched only a single campaign devoted solely to "classic and established works […] far [too] seldom translated into foreign languages."[5] Furthermore, out of eight authors presented in the [*Polish*] *Modern Classics* catalogue brought out on this occasion, only Edward Redliński represented the "lost generation" of writers popular in Poland between 1945 and 1989. Adding to this the fact that names such as Zofia Posmysz or Jan Himilsbach are absent from the online Book Institute's "Authors Index" and that short encyclopaedic notes about Kornel Filipowicz, Julian Kawalec, Tadeusz Nowak, Edward Stachura or Barbara Toporska, available in Polish only, are a far too insufficient source of information for would-be publishers or translators, discovering even the first-class narratives from the old repertoire of Polish prose fiction seems to be an almost impossible task.

What could help here would be intense promotion of the noteworthy old literary repertoire, perhaps with the employment of such tools as regularly issued [*Polish*] *Modern Classics* catalogues, better-developed indexes of Polish authors and books available on the Book Institute's website, festivals devoted to dead writers and their works,[6] as well as the introduction of an annual literary prize for a (modern) classic book, previously untranslated, deserving a second lease of life in a foreign language.[7]

The post-1989 change in political dynamics between Polish and British literary polysystems, applicable also to other Anglophone countries, has been aptly described by Piotr Kuhiwczak, who stated:

> In the absence of political criteria for the selection of texts, the UK publishers began to apply the same criteria to Polish literature as to literature from other countries. There is now a clear correlation between the translated texts and their reputation in Poland. This reputation is based on three sets of criteria: an award of a prestigious literary prize (such as Nike Readers' Prize), the long-term reputation of the writer in Poland, or the media publicity around a book, usually written by a previously unknown author. In the first category, that is

[5] http://www.bookinstitute.pl/wydarzenia,aktualnosci,31005,polish-modern-classics-in-london.html http://www.bookinstitute.pl/upload/Files/modern_classics.pdf

[6] After all, "we all read dead people," to quote the advertising slogan of one of the bookshops in Kraków. See Attachment 27 (p. 407).

[7] Models could be provided by the Zygmunt Haupt Festival, initiated by Andrzej Stasiuk, or by literary prizes for books which had not had much success when they first appeared, such as the French *le Prix des Bouquinistes des Quais de Paris* or the Canadian *le Prix Littéraire des Bouquinistes du Saint-Laurent*. In the case of old works promoted for translation, their authors dead or alive, the situation would differ in that they would usually have been appreciated in their source context, but would have to be discovered for the foreign readership.

> books awarded prizes in Poland, we have Olga Tokarczuk's *House of Day, House of Night*, Joanna Olczak-Roniker's *In the Garden of Memory*, and Antoni Libera's *Madame*. Paweł Huelle's short stories were published in 1991, so his novel *Mercedes-Benz* had an easier entry into the market, although the sponsorship by Mercedes-Benz for this novel created a lot of media and marketing publicity for the author in Poland. Tomek Tryzna's *Girl Nobody*, and Dorota Masłowska's *White and Red* are good examples of a new Polish phenomenon of authors and books whose reputation is created by publicity and media manipulation. (2007: 156-157)

In this succinct diagnosis of new publishing trends of Polish literature in English translation, Kuhiwczak illustrates how the political paradigm has been substituted by the commercial one, something hardly imaginable before 1990, as illustrated by an excerpt from Carl Tighe's novel, *Burning Worm* (2001). The book, "set in Poland in the turbulent months between the birth of Solidarity and the imposition of Martial Law" (Tighe 2001: the back-cover blurb), features the following dialogue between a Polish oppositionist poet, Andrzej, and a visiting teacher of English, Eugene Hinks:

> "In the West you are Free, yes?" Yes, I said. In a way we are free. In Poland the censor says what you can or cannot do, and that creates a hunger for what the censor refused to pass, whether it's any good or not. What is approved by the censor is often by definition of little real interest to the Polish public. In the West we have The Market. The Market censors us trough our stomachs and through the pockets of would-be publishers. We cannot do what we cannot sell. If there is no market for a thing, a book say, then the chances are that it will not get written. And if someone should write it, that it will not get published, and if it is published that it will not sell. That is not to say that it is a bad book… Andrzej snorted in disbelief. "Don't give me that Communist propaganda! Free is Free!" (Tighe 2001: 168)

Not free from drawbacks of its own, the depoliticised, though commercialised, approach to Polish writing gives hope for more novels and short stories, published originally between 1945 and 1989, to be transferred into English. New mechanisms of financing translations of Polish literature, such as the ©POLAND Translation Program or Sample Translations ©POLAND, run by the Polish Book Institute, constitute a great advantage over the pre-1990 literary patronage system in Poland. They, however, should be accompanied by promotional activities dedicated uniquely to the old repertoire of Polish writing. When it comes to the Anglo-American publishing market, it is especially Polish literature of the 1945-1989 period which has much more to offer than is commonly believed or expected. As Simona Škrabec writes:

> Most of the [East European] books published in the United States speak of the victims of Communism, censorship and repression, and the economic slump in Eastern Europe that followed Soviet withdrawal. (2007: 43)

Paradoxical as it may seem at first, it follows that it is the English translation of the best hitherto ignored apolitical works dating to the years 1945-1989 which could bring a decisive redefinition or even abandonment of the stereotypical anti-communist or post-communist perception of Polish literature still present in Anglophone countries. Moreover, the fact that "[a]ll too often, the interest in the literary output of other countries is little more than a taste for the exotic" (ibid.) should not necessarily be perceived as something evil, since actually "a taste for the exotic" may counteract the so much feared "globalisation of book markets" (ibid.). Everything depends then on how "the exotic" is defined. Škrabec points to the reductive political exoticism ascribed to East European literatures until and to a large extent also after 1989, which is indeed destructive in the long run to the overall image of the literary heritage of a given culture. Examples are in abundance, showing not only in the tendentious selection of works to be translated, but also in the way they are anthologised, organised into series or even entitled (e.g. Writers from the Other Europe or Writings from an Unbound Europe).

Certainly, the Western reader's "taste for the exotic" which they expect from the region of Eastern Europe can be satiated in a different way than *via* stories of political and material misery. Polish specificity and otherness, defined by different human interactions, geographical settings and disparate history may be treated as a value in itself. According to Jarosław Anders:

> Most of all, the new Polish writing loves localities – towns, neighborhoods, ethnic regions – which hide accumulated memories and unexpected troves of human stories. This new search for "little homelands" brought us the Danzig/Gdańsk of Paweł Huelle and Stefan Chwin, the Carpathian boondocks of Andrzej Stasiuk, the living, thinking stones of Magdalena Tulli's Warsaw, the decrepit suburban "projects" of Dorota Masłowska, and the Polish-Ukrainian borderland of the poetry of Eugeniusz Tkaczyszyn-Dycki. Much of this new literature is written in reaction to what younger writers consider the exaggerated metaphysical ambitions of their predecessors. They prefer to concentrate on the more modest task of exploring lesser-known aspects of human experience through the unique medium of the language. I must confess that I much admire their cocky disdain for their elders' *Angst* and *Drang*, in which I detect a new form of freedom and a new brand of courage. (2009: xvii)

The idea of artistic freedom, on the one hand so eagerly used in the West to stress the existence of censorship in communist Poland, on the other employed presently with reference to Polish writers who debuted after 1989, was not at all unfamiliar to such authors as Wiesław Myśliwski, Edward Stachura, Zofia Posmysz and many, many others. No doubt, the void left by the "Common Cold War," to use Benjamin Paloff's witticism (2009), should be filled in as soon as possible, so that it proves to be a passing rather than a chronic disease.

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Appendix 1

Translators Awarded for Polish-English Literary Translation[1]

Polish PEN Club Award for the Translation of Polish Literature into Foreign Languages (since 1930)[2]	
Henry Charles Stevens[3] (1966)	
Marion and Arthur Coleman (1972)	
Czesław Miłosz (1974)	
Kenneth Mackenzie (1989)	
Noel Clark (1994)	
Michał Jacek Mikoś (1995)	
Clare Cavanagh (1996)	
Book-of-the-Month Club Translation Prize (from 1963 until 2007) **American PEN Translation Prize** (since 2008)[4]	
Madeline Levine and Francine Prose (1988)	*A Scrap of Time* (1987) by Ida Fink
Thomas Hoisington (1993)	*The Adventures of Mr. Nicholas Wisdom* (1992) by Ignacy Krasicki
Stanisław Barańczak and Clare Cavanagh (1996)	*View With a Grain of Sand* (1995) by Wisława Szymborska
Bill Johnston (2012)	*Stone Upon Stone* (2010) [5] by Wiesław Myśliwski
Roy Publishers Awards (aka Marian Kister Memorial Awards) for Translation (1964, 1966, 1968, 1970)	
Celina Wieniewska (1964)	*Cinnamon Shops and Other Stories* (British edition) / *The Street of Crocodiles* (American edition) (1963) by Bruno Schulz
Kenneth Mackenzie (1966)	*Pan Tadeusz or The Last Foray in Lithuania* (1964) by Adam Mickiewicz
David John Welsh (1966)	(*No*) *Island of Salvation* (1965) by Włodzimierz Odojewski
In 1968, the Award for Polish-English translation ($ 250) was divided between five translators from various languages into Polish living in Poland: Kazimierz Błeszyński, Tadeusz Jakubowicz, Wanda Kragen, Alfred Liebfeld and Maria Wisłowska (Melanja Wassermanówna) ("Komunikaty" 1968: 132-133). All the prizewinners translated international authors for the prewar Rój.	
Daniel C. Gerould (1970)	*The Madman and the Nun and Other Plays* (1968) by Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz

[1] Until 2015. Awards dedicated exclusively to poetry translations are not taken into account.
[2] http://www.penclub.com.pl/nagrody/nagroda-za-przeklady-literatury-polskiej-na-jezyki-obce
[3] Name variants adopted by the translator include: Stephen Garry, Harry Stevens or Horace Stevens.
[4] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PEN_Translation_Prize
[5] The book was published in December 2010, too late to be taken into account for the 2011 Prizes. Instead, it was nominated for the 2012 PEN Translation Prize edition.

ZAiKS Prize in the Translation of Polish Literature into Foreign Languages (since 1965)[6]
David John Welsh (1970)
Harold Bernard Segel (1975)
Adam Czerniawski (1976)
Daniel Gerould (1979)
Magnus Jan Kryński and Robert Maguire (1980)
György Gömöri[7] (1987) for Polish-English and Polish-Hungarian translations
Stanisław Barańczak (1989)
Bolesław Taborski (1990)
Wiesław Kuniczak (1992)
The Alfred Jurzykowski Awards for Translation (since 1965)
David John Welsh (1965)
Clark Mills McBurney (1966)[8]
Adam Gillon (1967)
Bolesław Taborski (1968)
Norbert Guterman (1969)
Daniel C. Gerould (1974)
Marion Moore Coleman (1975)
Catherine S. Leach (1977)
Louis Iribarne (1979)
Richard Lourie (1993) Lillian B. Vallee (1993)
National Endowment for the Arts Literature Translation Fellowship (since 1981)[9]
John Carpenter (1981 and 1988)
Regina Grol-Prokopczyk (1993)
Bill Johnston (1999)
Jerzy Gregorek (2003)
Danuta Borchardt (2004)
Bogdana Carpenter (2007)
W. Martin (2008)
Robin F. Davidson (2009)
Mira Rosenthal (2009)
Karen Kovacik (2012)
Jennifer Croft (2015)

National Translation Award (since 1998)[10]	
Danuta Borchardt (2001)	*Ferdydurke* (2000) by Witold Gombrowicz

[6] http://www.zaiks.org.pl/381,111,laureaci_nagrody_zaiks-u_2011
[7] Also known as George Gömöri or George Gomori.
[8] Most probably Clark Mills McBurney's renditions into English were co-translations as it seems that he did not know Polish himself.
[9] http://arts.gov/news/2013/national-endowment-arts-announces-250000-16-literature-translation-fellowships
[10] http://www.utdallas.edu/alta/about/nta

AATSEEL Book Award for Best Translation into English (since 2000)[11]	
Czesław Miłosz and Robert Hass (2000)	*Road-Side Dog* (1998) by Czesław Miłosz
Madeline G. Levine (2003)	*Miłosz's ABC's* (2001) by Czesław Miłosz
Bill Johnston (2005)	*Dreams and Stones* (2004) by Magdelena Tulli
American PEN Translation Fund Grant (since 2004) **NYSCA Grant** (since 2012)[12]	
Mira Rosenthal (2008)	*Colonies* (2012) by Tomasz Różycki
Piotr Gwiazda (2010)	*Kopenhaga* (2013) by Grzegorz Wróblewski
Iza Wojciechowska (2013)	*The Dye Girl* (to be published) by Anna Piwkowska
Jennifer Croft (2015)	*The Books of Jacob* (to be published) by Olga Tokarczuk
English PEN's Writers in Translation Programme (since 2005)[13]	
Antonia Lloyd-Jones (2008)	*Like Eating a Stone: Surviving the Past in Bosnia* (2008) by Wojciech Tochman
W. Martin (2010)	*Lovetown* (2010) by Michał Witkowski
Antonia Lloyd-Jones (2012)	*Ryszard Kapuściński: A Life* (2012) by Artur Domosławski
Antonia Lloyd-Jones (2013)	*The Assassin from Apricot City: Reportage from Turkey* (2013) by Witold Szabłowski
Antonia Lloyd-Jones (2014)	*Kolyma Diaries: A Journey into Russia's Haunted Hinterland* (2014) by Jacek Hugo-Bader
Book Institute's "Transatlantyk Prize" for Outstanding Ambassadors of Polish Literature Abroad (since 2005)[14]	
Bill Johnston (2014)	
Book Institute's "Found in Translation Award" for the Translation of Polish Literature into English (since 2008)[15]	
Bill Johnston (2008)	*New Poems* (2007) by Tadeusz Różewicz
Antonia Lloyd-Jones (2009)	*The Last Supper* (2008) by Paweł Huelle
Danuta Borchardt (2010)	*Pornografia* (2009) by Witold Gombrowicz
Clare Cavanagh and Stanisław Barańczak (2011)	*Here* (2010) by Wisława Szymborska[16]

[11] http://www.aatseel.org/about/prizes/#Translation
http://www.aatseel.org/about/prizes/recent-recipients/
[12] http://www.pen.org/content/penheim-translation-fund-grants-2000-4000
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PEN/Heim_Translation_Fund_Grants
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_York_State_Council_on_the_Arts
[13] http://www.englishpen.org/translation/supported-titles/
[14] http://www.bookinstitute.pl/wydarzenia,aktualnosci,31320,the-transatlantyk-goes-to-bill-johnston.html
[15] http://www.bookinstitute.pl/programy,o-nas.html

Joanna Trzeciak (2012)	*Sobbing Superpower* (2011) by Tadeusz Różewicz
Antonia Lloyd-Jones (2013)	*Cold Sea Stories* (2012) by Paweł Huelle *Saturn: Black Paintings from the Lives of the Men in the Goya Family* (2012) by Jacek Dehnel *A Grain of Truth* (2012) by Zygmunt Miłoszewski *Ryszard Kapuściński, A Life* (2012) by Artur Domosławski *The Night Wanderers* (2012) by Wojciech Jagielski *Kore: On Sickness, the Sick and the Search for the Soul of Medicine* (2012) by Andrzej Szczeklik *Kaytek the Wizard* (2012) by Janusz Korczak
Philip Boehm (2014)	*Chasing the King of Hearts* (2013) by Hanna Krall
Ursula Phillips (2015)	*Choucas* (2014) by Zofia Nałkowska
Best Translated Book Award (since 2008)[17]	
Bill Johnston (2012)	*Stone Upon Stone* (2010) by Wiesław Myśliwski
AATSEEL Book Award for Best Literary Translation into English (since 2011)[18]	
Bill Johnston (2012)	*Stone Upon Stone* (2010) by Wiesław Myśliwski
AATSEEL Book Award for Best Scholarly Translation into English (since 2011)[19]	
Joanna Trzeciak (2012)	*Sobbing Superpower* (2011) by Tadeusz Różewicz
The John Dryden Translation Competition (since 2013-2014)[20]	
Kevin Windle (2014-2015)	*Escape to the South* (extracts) by Sławomir Mrożek

[16] The winning American edition of *Here* contains all the poems from the *Tutaj* volume, translated by Clare Cavanagh, and selected poems from *Dwukropek*, translated by Clare Cavanagh and Stanisław Barańczak.
[17] http://www.rochester.edu/college/translation/threepercent/index.php?s=btb
[18] http://www.aatseel.org/about/prizes/recent-recipients/
[19] http://www.aatseel.org/about/prizes/recent-recipients/
[20] http://bcla.org/prizes-and-competitions/john-dryden-translation-competition/winners/

Appendix 2 Literary Translation Patronage in Poland 1945-2015

	1945-1989	1990-2015
POLISH ORGANISATIONS FOR THE SUPPORT OF TRANSLATORS AND THEIR WORK	- Polish PEN Club - Polish Writers' Union - The Polish Society of Authors and Composers ZAiKS - Author's Agency (a branch of ZAiKS) - The Association of Polish Translators and Interpreters	- Polish PEN Club - Polish Writers' Union - Polish Writers' Association - The Polish Society of Authors and Composers ZAiKS - Author's Agency (a branch of ZAiKS) until 1996 - The Association of Polish Translators and Interpreters - Book Institute - Polish Literary Translators Association
SELECTED PERIODICALS AND WEBSITES DEVOTED TO POLISH LITERATURE AND POLISH LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION	- *Bulletin of New Books and Plays* (1958-1969 a monthly issued by the Polish PEN Club) - *Polish Literature* (1968-1974, a quarterly issued by the Author's Agency) - *Literatura na Świecie* - *Nowe Książki* - Profiles of Contemporary Polish Writers booklet series	- http://www.bookinstitute.pl/ - *New Books From Poland* (a catalogue issued by the Book Institute since 1998) - *Literatura na Świecie* - *Nowe Książki* - http://www.polishwriting.net/index.php?id=75

	1945-1989	1990-2015
INFORMATION ABOUT TRANSLATIONS	- *Polska literatura w przekładach: bibliografia 1945-1970* by Ludomira Ryll and Janina Wilgat, Warszawa: Agencja Autorska, 1972	- *Literatura polska w przekładach 1971-1980*, by Danuta Bilikiewicz-Blanc, *et al.*, Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2008 - *Literatura polska w przekładach 1981-2004*, by Danuta Bilikiewicz-Blanc, *et al.*, Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2005 - http://mak.bn.org.pl/info/info29.htm
TRANSLATION AWARDS, SCHOLARSHIPS AND STIPENDS	- *Polish PEN Club Translation Award* - *ZAiKS Prize in Translation*	- *Polish PEN Club Translation Award* - *ZAiKS Prize in Translation* - *Found in Translation Award* (Book Institute) - Translators' Collegium (Book Institute) - Sample Translations ©Poland - ©POLAND Translation Program
INTERNATIONAL BOOK FAIRS HELD IN POLAND	- International Book Fair (1956-1957 in Poznań, Ars Polona) - International Book Fair (1958-2010 in Warsaw, Ars Polona)	- International Book Fair (1958-2010 in Warsaw, Ars Polona) - Warsaw Book Fair (since 2010, Murator EXPO) - Book Fair in Kraków (since 1997, Targi w Krakowie Ltd)
CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS AND SEMINARS	- The 1st International Conference of Translators of Literary Works in Warsaw and Kraków (1958, Polish PEN Club) - International Congresses of Translators of Polish Literature in Warsaw and Kraków (1965, 1970, 1975, 1979, Author's Agency)	- PEN Club World Congress 1999 - World Congresses of Translators of Polish Literature in Kraków (2005, 2009, Book Institute) - Seminars for Publishers (Book Institute) - International Conferences: Polish Literature in the World (2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, University of Silesia)
EXIBITIONS	- Polish Literature in Translation. Book Exhibitions in Warsaw, London, Paris, Milan, Padua, Rome and Poznań (Author's Agency)	- Monographic exhibitions at International Book Fairs in Frankfurt (Book Institute) -10 Years of the ©POLAND Translation Program

Appendix 3

Profiles of Contemporary [Polish] Writers (English Edition)

1972

Bartelski, Lesław M. (1972) [Wojciech] *Żukrowski*, trans. Marsha Brochwicz, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

Kurzyna, Mieczysław (1972) [Melchior] *Wańkowicz*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

Maciąg, Włodzimierz (1972) [Kornel] *Filipowicz*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

Matuszewski, Ryszard (1972) [Jarosław] *Iwaszkiewicz*, trans. Marsha Brochwicz, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

Sadkowski, Wacław (1972) [Michał] *Rusinek*, trans. Marsha Brochwicz, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

Vogler, Henryk (1972) [Tadeusz] *Różewicz*, trans. Marsha Brochwicz, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

1973

Balcerzak, Ewa (1973) [Stanisław] *Lem*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

1974

Ivaničková, Halina (1974) [Maria] *Kuncewiczowa*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

Melkowski, Stefan (1974) [Ernest] *Bryll*, trans. by Maria Spasowska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

Sadkowski, Wacław (1974) [Andrzej] *Kuśniewicz*, trans. Joanna Infeld-Sosnowska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

1975

Sadkowski, Wacław (1975) [Jerzy] *Andrzejewski*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

1976

Kuncewicz, Piotr (1976) [Stanisław] *Grochowiak*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Matuszewski, Ryszard (1976) [Jarosław] *Iwaszkiewicz*, trans. Marsha Brochwicz, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Vogler, Henryk (1976) [Tadeusz] *Różewicz*, trans. Marsha Brochwicz, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

1977

Kozikowski, Edward (1977) [Jan] *Parandowski*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Makowiecki, Andrzej Z. (1977) [Stanisław Ryszard] *Dobrowolski*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Olcha, Antoni (1977) *Alina and Czesław Centkiewicz*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Przymanowski, Janusz (1977) [Zbigniew] *Safjan*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

1978

Fredro, Tadeusz (1978) [Lesław M.] *Bartelski*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Goreń, Andrzej (1978) [Julian] *Kawalec*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Rogatko, Bogdan (1978) [Tadeusz] *Hołuj*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Sadkowski, Wacław (1978) [Teodor] *Parnicki*, trans. by Jacek Dobrowolski, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

1979

Bugajski, Leszek (1979) [Ireneusz] *Iredyński*, trans. by Ewa Ćwirko-Godycka, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Niemczuk, Jerzy (1979) [Władysław Lech] *Terlecki*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Sandauer, Artur, Alicja Bałakier (1979) [Miron] *Białoszewski*, trans. by Adam Czerniawski, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

1980

Kłossowicz, Jan (1980) [Sławomir] *Mrożek*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Pawluczuk, Andrzej W. (1980) [Ryszard] *Kapuściński*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

1981

Rogalski, Aleksander (1981) *Jan Dobraczyński*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

Zadura, Bohdan (1981) [Tadeusz] *Nowak*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, Czytelnik.

1982

Dybciak, Krzysztof (1982) [Jan Józef] *Szczepański*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency, „Czytelnik".

1988

Lewandowski, Jan (1988) [Jerzy] *Jesionowski*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

1989

Kaliszewski, Andrzej (1989) [Zbigniew] *Herbert*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

1990

Gosk, Hanna (1990) [Józef] *Hen*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

Maciąg, Włodzimierz (1990) *Kazimierz Brandys*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warsaw: Author's Agency.

Appendix 4

Bibliographical Data: Novels, Short-Story Collections and Anthologies

Appendix 4 gives basic bibliographical details of all novels, short-story collections and anthologies introduced and analysed in Chapter Two. As in the main text, the data are presented decade by decade (1945-1949, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s, 2010-2015). Books by an individual author are grouped into seven thematic categories: the Second World War, politics in post-war Poland, everyday life in post-war Poland, historical novels, science-fiction and fantasy, children's stories and other subjects. Bibliographical data for anthologies are listed alphabetically at the end of each decade. Details of the first book edition(s) of the English translations are given first, followed by the first book edition(s) of the Polish text (whenever existent, since in some cases the Polish original never appeared in print). Details of English-language reprints or re-editions are presented only if the book's title was changed in the subsequent edition. If different editions were published in the same year, all publishers are listed. Retranslations are introduced under separate entries. Details of Polish-language reprints or re-editions are given in the case of works which had several debuts: abroad, in *samizdat* publishing and, finally, in official circulation, usually after 1989. Revised or expanded editions are also registered.

1945-1949

The Second World War

Meissner, Janusz (1945) *L for Lucy*, trans. anon., Edinburgh: Składnica Księgarska.
Meissner, Janusz (1945) *L – jak Lucy: opowieść lotnicza*, Edynburg: Składnica Księgarska.
Meissner, Janusz (1946) *L – jak Lucy: opowieść lotnicza*, Katowice: AWiR.

Wasilewska, Wanda (1945) *Just Love*, trans. by Edith Bone, London, New York, Melbourne, Sidney, Cape Town: Hutchinson International Authors.
Wasilewska, Wanda (1945) *Po prostu miłość*, Moskwa: Związek Patriotów Polskich w ZSSR.
Wasilewska, Wanda (1956) *Tęcza*; *Po prostu miłość*; *Gdy światło zapłonie*; *Bartosz Głowacki*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo MON.

Politics in post-war Poland

NONE

Everyday life in post-war Poland

NONE

Historical novels

Kossak, Zofia (1948) *The Meek Shall Inherit*, trans. by Maurice A. Michael, New York, NY: Roy Publishers. (The subsequent 1949 edition was published by Hutchinson as *The Gift of Nessus*.)
Kossak, Zofia (1948) *Suknia Dejaniry: powieść historyczna*, Poznań: Pallottinum.

Science-fiction and fantasy

NONE

Children's stories

NONE

Other subjects

Themerson, Stefan (1949) *Bayamus: A Novel*, trans. by the author, London: Editions Poetry London.
Themerson, Stefan (1945-1946), *Bayamus*, *Nowa Polska* [Londyn], 5.2: 95-103; 5.3: 164-169; 6.1: 45-55; 6.2: 101-116; 6.3: 163-171.
Themerson, Stefan (1980) *Generał Piesc i inne opowiadania*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Anthologies

Dynowska, Wanda[1] (ed.) (1946) *Polish Short Stories*, trans. anon., Swatantrapur, Aundh: Maurice Frydman. Among other texts, contains a short story by **Herminia Naglerowa** ("Bread," orig. "Chleb").

Morska, Irena (ed.) (1947) *Polish Authors of Today and Yesterday*, New York, NY: S. F. Vanni. Among other texts, contains two short stories by **Sydor Rey** ("The General," trans. by Edward Falkowski, orig. "Generał" and "Iwancio," trans. by Samuel Sorgenstein, orig. "Iwańcio," first published in English translation.[2]

[1] Also known as Umadevi.
[2] The Polish versions appeared respectively as: "Generał" (*Wiadomości* [London], 3rd April 1960, 14: 2) and "Iwańcio" (*Wiadomości* [London], 6th August 1967, 32: 3).

1950s

The Second World War

Dąbrowska, Maria (1957) *A Village Wedding and Other Stories*, trans. anon., Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House. Contains a selection from *Gwiazda zaranna* ("A Pilgrimage to Warsaw," orig. "Pielgrzymka do Warszawy;" "The Winter Coat," orig. "Jesionka;" "The Child," orig. "Dziecko;" "Early Morning in a Zoological Garden," orig. "Poranek w ogrodzie zoologicznym;" "Night Encounter," orig. "Nocne spotkanie;" "Madame Sophie," orig. "Pani Zosia;" "A Change Came O'er the Scenes of My Dreams," orig. "Tu zaszła zmiana;" "The Third Autumn," orig. "Trzecia jesień;" "A Village Wedding," orig. "Na wsi wesele").
Dąbrowska, Maria (1955) *Gwiazda zaranna*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Kuncewiczowa, Maria (1950) *The Conspiracy of the Absent: A Novel*, trans. by Maurice A. Michael and Harry Stevens,[3] London, New York, Melbourne, Sidney, Cape Town: Hutchinson and New York, NY: Roy Publishers.
Kuncewiczowa, Maria (1946) *Zmowa nieobecnych*, Londyn: Wydawnictwo Światowego Związku Polaków z Zagranicy.
Kuncewiczowa, Maria (1957) *Zmowa nieobecnych*, Warszawa: Pax.

Rudnicki, Adolf (1951) *Ascent to Heaven*, trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, London: Dobson; New York, NY: Roy Publishers and Toronto: McLeod. Contains selected works by Adolf Rudnicki ("Ascent to Heaven," orig. "Wniebowstąpienie;"[4] "The Crystal Stream," orig. "Czysty nurt;" "A Dying Man," orig. "Ginący Daniel;" "The Great Stefan Konecki," orig. "Wielki Stefan Konecki").
Rudnicki, Adolf (1948) *Szekspir*, Warszawa: Książka.
Rudnicki, Adolf (1949) *Ucieczka z Jasnej Polany*, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.

Rudnicki, Adolf (1957) *The Dead and the Living Sea and Other Stories*, trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House.[5] Contains selected works by Adolf Rudnicki ("Józefów: In a Warsaw Suburban Resort," orig. "Józefów;" "The Horse," orig. "Koń;" "Golden Windows," orig. "Złote okna;" "Easter," orig. "Wielkanoc;" "The Dying Daniel," orig. "Ginący Daniel;" "The Clear Stream," orig. "Czysty nurt;" "Raisa's Ascent to Heaven," orig. "Wniebowstąpienie;"[6] "The Dead and the Living Sea," orig. "Żywe i martwe morze").
Rudnicki, Adolf (1952) *Żywe i martwe morze*, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.[7]
Rudnicki, Adolf (1955) *Żywe i martwe morze* [second, expanded edition], Warszawa: Czytelnik.[8]

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[3] One of the name variants used by Henry Charles Stevens.
[4] The story is preceded by a quotation from "Roki," a poem by Czesław Miłosz from the collection *Trzy zimy* (1936).
[5] Jadwiga Zwolska's translation is based on the second, expanded and slightly revised edition of *Żywe i martwe morze* (1955).
[6] The introductory motto taken from Czesław Miłosz's poem "Roki," from the collection *Trzy zimy* (1936), was already removed in the 1952 edition of *Żywe i martwe morze*. Additionaly, the text of the 1955 edition of the book underwent minor stylistic modifications.
[7] *Żywe i martwe morze* (1952) was a joint edition of Rudnicki's two earlier collections: *Szekspir* (1948) and *Ucieczka z Jasnej Polany* (1949) from the *Epoka Pieców* (The Era of Cremos) series, intended by Rudnicki to be part of a bigger literary project. "The era of cremos" was a term coined by Rudnicki himself. *Żywe i martwe morze* (1952) included three new stories: "Pierścień," "Ignaś Łęk" and the eponymous narrative "Żywe i martwe morze." The title story from the 1949 collection, "Ucieczka z Jasnej Polany," is absent from this edition.

Politics in post-war Poland

Braun, Andrzej (1959) *The Paving Stones of Hell*, trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, London: Putnam.
Braun, Andrzej (1957) *Piekło wybrukowane*, *Nowa Kultura*, 26: 4-5; 27: 4-5; 28: 4-5; 29: 4-5; 30: 4 and 7.
Braun, Andrzej (1984) *Piekło wybrukowane i inne opowiadania*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Hłasko, Marek (1959) *The Graveyard*, trans. by Norbert Guterman, New York, NY: Dutton.
Hłasko, Marek (1958) *Cmentarze* [in:] *Cmentarze*; *Następny do raju*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Hłasko, Marek (1981) *Cmentarze*, Kraków: Ość.
Hłasko, Marek (1985) *Cmentarze* [in:] *Utwory wybrane*, Vol. 2, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Miłosz, Czesław (1955) *The Seizure of Power* [American title], trans. by Celina Wieniewska, New York, NY: Criterion Books.
Miłosz, Czesław (1955) *The Usurpers* [British title], trans. by Celina Wieniewska, London: Faber and Faber. Subsequent editions published as *The Seizure of Power*.
Miłosz, Czesław (1955) *Zdobycie władzy*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Miłosz, Czesław (1980) *Zdobycie władzy*, Kraków: KOS and Warszawa: NOWa.
Miłosz, Czesław (1990) *Zdobycie władzy*, Olsztyn: Pojezierze.

Newerly, Igor (1957) *A Night of Remembrance*, trans. by Ilona Ralf Sues, Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House.
Newerly, Igor (1952) *Pamiątka z Celulozy*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Everyday life in post-war Poland

Dąbrowska, Maria (1957) *A Village Wedding and Other Stories*, trans. anon., Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House. Contains a selection from *Gwiazda zaranna* ("A Pilgrimage to Warsaw," orig. "Pielgrzymka do Warszawy;" "The Winter Coat," orig. "Jesionka;" "The Child," orig. "Dziecko;" "Early Morning in a Zoological Garden," orig. "Poranek w ogrodzie zoologicznym;" "Night Encounter," orig. "Nocne spotkanie;" "Madame Sophie," orig. "Pani Zosia;" "A Change Came O'er the Scenes of My Dreams," orig. "Tu zaszła zmiana;" "The Third Autumn," orig. "Trzecia jesień;" "A Village Wedding," orig. "Na wsi wesele").
Dąbrowska, Maria (1955) *Gwiazda zaranna*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Hłasko, Marek (1958) *The Eighth Day of the Week*, trans. by Norbert Guterman, New York, NY: Dutton.
Hłasko, Marek (1956) *Ósmy dzień tygodnia*, *Twórczość*, 11: 23-68.
Hłasko, Marek (1963) *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* [in:] *Opowiadania*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Hłasko, Marek (1980) *Ósmy dzień tygodnia*, Warszawa: NOWa.
Hłasko, Marek (1985) *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* [in:] *Utwory wybrane*, Vol. 2, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

[8] In comparison with *Żywe i martwe morze* from 1952, the 1955 edition underwent minor stylistic modifications. More importantly, it restored "Ucieczka z Jasnej Polany" in place of "Blic" and included five more stories: "Złote okna," "Autoportret z dwoma kilogramami złota," "Exegi monumentum," "Ostatnia ziemia" and "Ojczyzna."

Tyrmand, Leopold (1958) *Zly*, trans. by David John Welsh, London: Michael Joseph.
In the subsequent American edition the title was changed to *The Man with the White Eyes* (1959), New York, NY: Knopf.
Tyrmand, Leopold (1955) *Zły*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Tyrmand, Leopold (1959) *The Seven Long Voyages*, trans. by David John Welsh, London: Michael Joseph.
Tyrmand, Leopold (1975) *Siedem dalekich rejsów*, Londyn: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna.
Tyrmand, Leopold (1992) *Siedem dalekich rejsów*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Historical novels

Kuncewiczowa, Maria (1954) *The Forester*, trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, London, New York, Melbourne, Sidney, Cape Town: Hutchinson and New York, NY: Roy Publishers.
Kuncewiczowa, Maria (1952) *Leśnik*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Kuncewiczowa, Maria (1957) *Leśnik*, Warszawa: Pax.

Kossak, Zofia (1951) *The Covenant: A Novel of the Life of Abraham the Prophet*, trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, New York, NY: Roy Publishers and London; New York, NY: Wingate.
Kossak, Zofia (1952) *Przymierze*, Londyn: Katolicki Ośrodek Wydawniczy "Veritas."
Kossak, Zofia (1957) *Przymierze*, Warszawa: Pax.

Dobraczyński, Jan (1958) *The Letters of Nicodemus: A Novel of the New Testament*, trans. and abridged by Henry Charles Stevens, London, Melbourne, Toronto: Heinemann.
Dobraczyński, Jan (1952) *Listy Nikodema*, Warszawa: Pax.

Dobraczyński, Jan (1959) *The Sacred Sword*, trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, London, Melbourne, Toronto: Heinemann.
Dobraczyński, Jan (1949) *Święty miecz: powieść*, Poznań: Księgarnia Z. Gustowskiego.

Science-fiction and fantasy

NONE

Children's stories

NONE

Other subjects

Themerson, Stefan (1953) *Professor Mmaa's Lecture*, trans. by the author, London: Gaberbocchus Press.
Themerson, Stefan (1958) *Wykład profesora Mmaa*, Warszawa: PIW.

Anthologies

Mayewski, Paweł (ed.) (1958) *The Broken Mirror: A Collection of Writings from Contemporary Poland*, New York, NY: Random House. Among other texts, contains short stories by: **Tadeusz Różewicz** ("The New Philosophical School," trans. by Paweł Mayewski, orig. "Nowa szkoła filozoficzna") and **Kazimierz Brandys** ("The Defense of Granada," trans. by Norbert Guterman, orig. "Obrona Grenady").

Ordon, Edmund (ed.) (1958) *Ten Contemporary Polish Stories*, Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press. Among other texts, contains post-war short stories by: **Józef Mackiewicz** ("The Adventures of an Imp," trans. by Bronislas de Leval Jezierski, orig. "Przygoda małego diabełka"), **Jerzy Zawieyski** ("The President Calls," trans. by Adam Czerniawski, orig. "Odwiedziny prezydenta") and **Marek Hłasko** ("The Most Sacred Words of Our Life," trans. by Wojciech Gniatczyński and Adam Czerniawski, orig. "Najświętsze słowa naszego życia").

Rudnicki, Adolf (ed.) (1955) *Lest We Forget*, trans. anon., Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House. Among other texts, contains short stories by: **Jerzy Pytlakowski** ("Twenty-four Hours of Dying," orig. "Dwadzieścia cztery godziny śmierci"), **Kornel Filipowicz** (an excerpt from "The Implacable Landscape,"[9] orig. "Krajobraz, który przeżył śmierć"), **Jerzy Andrzejewski** (an excerpt from "Roll-Call," orig. "Apel"), **Tadeusz Borowski** ("A Day at the Hacienda," orig. "Dzień na Hazendzie"[10] and an excerpt from "We from Oswiecim,"[11] orig. "My z Auschwitzu"[12]) and **Tadeusz Hołuj** ("Jan Mosdorf's Truce," orig. "Rozejm Jana Mosdorfa").
Rudnicki, Adolf (ed.) (1955) *Wieczna pamięć*, Warszawa: Polonia Publishing House.

Stillman, Edmund O. (ed.) (1959) *Bitter Harvest: The Intellectual Revolt behind the Iron Curtain*, London: Thames & Hudson and New York, NY: Praeger. Among other texts, contains short stories and excerpts from novels by: **Marek Hłasko** ("We Take Off for Heaven,"[13] trans. anon., orig. "Odlatujemy w niebo" and "'A Point, Mister?' or, Everything Has Changed," trans. anon., orig. "Kancik czyli wszystko się zmieniło"), **Stanisław Dygat**

[9] As given in the English version of the anthology. The original title of the story: " Krajobraz, który przeżył śmierć." The Implacable Landscape is an English translation of the title of the whole short-story collection by Filipowicz, *Krajobraz niewzruszony* (1947).

[10] As given in the Polish version of the anthology. In reality, an excerpt from "Proszę państwa do gazu" [in:] 6643 Janusz Nel Siedlecki, 75817 Krystyn Olszewski and 119198 Tadeusz Borowski (1946) *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu*, Monachium: Oficyna Warszawska na Obczyźnie, translated into English by Alicia Nitecki and Barbara Vedder (Barbara Krzywicka-Herburt) as *We Were in Auschwitz* (2000) New York, NY: Welcome Rain Publishers. *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu* is officially categorised as a collection of memoirs, if only highly fictionalised. The book contains texts by Tadeusz Borowski, classified later as short stories included in his *Pożegnanie z Marią* (1948) and *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories* (1967). A similar generic problem refers to Seweryna Szmaglewska's *Dymy nad Birkenau* (1945), translated into English by Jadwiga Rynas and published by Henry Holt as *Smoke over Birkenau* (1947). Excerpts from Szmaglewska's fictionalised memoirs are also to be found in Rudnicki's anthology.

[11] Spelling used in the English-language version of the anthology. The translator's (?) decision to use the Polish place name "Oświęcim" instead of "Auschwitz" in the English translation of the story's title is a gross abuse of the original "U nas, w Auschwitzu" [in:] 6643 Janusz Nel Siedlecki, 75817 Krystyn Olszewski and 119198 Tadeusz Borowski (1946) *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu*, Monachium: Oficyna Warszawska na Obczyźnie.

[12] As given in the Polish version of the anthology. Real title: "U nas, w Auschwitzu."

[13] Coleman (1963: 33) and Maciuszko (1968: 121) give "Pierwszy krok w chmurach" as a basis for this translation. The reason for this misunderstanding is that in Stillman's anthology the title of Hłasko's whole collection of short stories, *Pierwszy krok w chmurach*, is given under the story's translation (Stillman: 1959: 11).

("Long Journey," trans. anon., orig. "Dalekie Podróże"), **Stanisław Zieliński** ("Notes from Amerdaganda," trans. anon., orig. "Raj Amery: listy z Amerdagandy") and **Stanisława Sznaper-Zakrzewska** ("The Young Woman Doctor on Prezydencka Street," trans. by Elizabeth K. Valkenier, orig. "Młoda lekarka z Prezydenckiej").[14]

Tabori, Paul (ed.) (1954) *The Pen in Exile: An Anthology of Exiled Writers*, London: International PEN Club Centre for Writers in Exile. Among other texts, contains post-war short stories by such Polish authors as: **Ferdynand Goetel** ("Vengeance," trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, orig. "Zemsta"), **Zofia Kossak** ("I See Him," trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, orig. "Widzę go"), **Józef Mackiewicz** ("Murder on the Waka," trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, orig. "Morderstwo nad rzeką Waką"[15]), **Roman Orwid-Bulicz** ("The Sewers," trans. by Stefan Cedryk Potocki, orig. "Kanały"[16]) and **Tadeusz Wittlin** ("The Lover and the Boy," trans. by Noel E. P. Clark, orig. "Gdy matka ma kochanka").

Tabori, Paul (ed.) (1956) *The Pen in Exile: A Second Anthology*, London: The International PEN Club Centre for Writers in Exile. Among other texts, contains post-war short stories by such Polish authors as: **Adolf Fierla** ("Their Everyday Bread," trans. by Karol Lewicki, orig. "Chleb na dłoni"), **Helena Heinsdorf** ("The Skies Opened," written originally in English), **Janusz Kowalewski** ("Mutton-Fat," trans. by Jerzy Iranek-Osmecki, adaptation of two orig. pieces: "Twardy chleb" and "Tragarz John"), **Mieczysław J. Lisiewicz** ("Life of a Drunkard," trans. by A. Truscoe, orig. "Żywot pijaka"), **Teodozya Lisiewicz** ("Solitude," trans. anon., an excerpt from *Siostra Ikara*),[17] **Józef Mackiewicz** ("The Red Flag," trans. by Lew Sapieha, an excerpt from *Droga do Nikąd*), **Herminia Naglerowa** ("Dunia," trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, orig. "Dunia"), **Stefan Legeżyński** "An Odd Story," written originally in English).

[14] All the texts, apart from the autobiographical account "The Young Woman Doctor on Prezydencka Street" by Stanisława Sznaper-Zakrzewska, are reprints from the *East Europe* magazine, published by Free Europe Press, Free Europe Committee.
[15] Maciuszko (1968: 144) erroneously gives the original title as "Morderstwo w dolinie rzeki Waki," probably a contamination with another text by Mackiewicz, "Zbrodnia w dolinie rzeki Drawy."
[16] After Maciuszko (1968: 177).
[17] After Maciuszko (1968: 142-143).

1960s

The Second World War

Borowski, Tadeusz (1967) *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories*, trans. by Barbara Vedder,[18] London: Cape and New York, NY: Viking.
Borowski, Tadeusz (1959) *Wybór opowiadań*, Warszawa: PIW.[19]

Buczkowski, Leopold (1969) *Black Torrent*, trans. by David John Welsh, Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press.
Buczkowski, Leopold (1954) *Czarny potok*, Warszawa: Pax.

Dobraczyński, Jan (1961) *Dłonie na murze = Hands on the Wall*, trans. by Barbara Przestępska, Warszawa: Pax. Parallel Polish and English texts.
Dobraczyński, Jan (1960) *Dłonie na murze*, Warszawa: Pax.

Grynberg, Henryk (1969) *Child of the Shadows* [later published as *The Jewish War*], trans. by Celina Wieniewska, London: Vallentine, Mitchell. Includes "The Grave," trans. by Marcus Wheeler, orig. "Grób."
Grynberg, Henryk (1965) *Żydowska wojna*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Mackiewicz, Józef (1963) *Road to Nowhere*, trans. by Lew Sapieha, London: Collins & Harvill.
Mackiewicz, Józef (1955) *Droga do nikąd*, Londyn: Orbis.
Mackiewicz, Józef (1984) *Droga do nikąd*, Kraków: X.
Mackiewicz, Józef (1990) *Droga do nikąd*, Warszawa: Baza.

Nowakowski, Tadeusz (1962) *Camp of All Saints*, trans. by Norbert Guterman, New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
Nowakowski, Tadeusz (1957) *Obóz Wszystkich Świętych*, Paryż: Libella.
Nowakowski, Tadeusz (1989) *Obóz Wszystkich Świętych*, Warszawa: Pokolenie.
Nowakowski, Tadeusz (1990) *Obóz Wszystkich Świętych*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Odojewski, Włodzimierz (1965) *No Island of Salvation* [British title; translation based on the unpublished uncensored manuscript], trans. by David John Welsh, London: Harvill Press.
Odojewski, Włodzimierz (1965) *Island of Salvation* [American title; translation based on the unpublished uncensored manuscript], trans. by David John Welsh, New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World.
Odojewski, Włodzimierz (1964) *Wyspa ocalenia* [censored edition], Warszawa: Czytelnik.
Odojewski, Włodzimierz (1990) *Wyspa ocalenia* [uncensored edition], Białystok: Versus.
Odojewski, Włodzimierz (2008) *Wyspa ocalenia* [changed edition], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Książkowe "Twój Styl."

[18] Real name: Barbara Krzywicka-Herburt.
[19] Among others, it contains stories selected from: 6643 Janusz Nel Siedlecki, 75817 Krystyn Olszewski and 119198 Tadeusz Borowski (1946) *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu*, Monachium: Oficyna Warszawska na Obczyźnie; Tadeusz Borowski (1948) *Kamienny świat*, Warszawa: Czytelnik and Tadeusz Borowski (1948) *Pożegnanie z Marią*, Warszawa: Wiedza.

Romanowiczowa, Zofia (1962) *Passage through the Red Sea*, trans. by Virgilia Peterson-Sapieha, New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World.
Romanowiczowa, Zofia (1960) *Przejście przez Morze Czerwone*, Paryż: Libella.
Romanowiczowa, Zofia (1961) *Przejście przez Morze Czerwone*, Warszawa: PIW.

Politics in post-war Poland

Andrzeyevski, George (1960) *The Inquisitors*, trans. by Konrad Syrop, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, and New York, NY: Knopf.
Andrzejewski, Jerzy (1957) *Ciemności kryją ziemię*, Warszawa: PIW.

Andrzeyevski, George (1962) *Ashes and Diamonds*, trans. by David John Welsh, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
Andrzejewski, Jerzy (1948) *Popiół i diament*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.[20]

Andrzeyevski, George (1962) *The Gates of Paradise*, trans. by James Kirkup,[21] London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
Andrzejewski, Jerzy (1960) *Bramy raju*, Warszawa: PIW.

Brandys, Kazimierz (1961) *Sons and Comrades*, trans. by David John Welsh, London: Allen & Unwin and New York, NY: Grove.
Brandys, Kazimierz (1957) *Matka Królów*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1969) *A Dreambook for Our Time*, trans. by David John Welsh, Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press.
Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1963) *Sennik współczesny*, Warszawa: Iskry.

Mrożek, Sławomir (1962) *The Elephant*, trans. by Konrad Syrop, London: Macdonald and New York, NY: Grove.
Mrożek, Sławomir (1957) *Słoń*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Mrożek, Sławomir (1968) *The Ugupu Bird* (selected works), trans. by Konrad Syrop, London: Macdonald.
Mrożek, Sławomir (1959) *Wesele w Atomicach*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
Mrożek, Sławomir (1961) *Ucieczka na południe*, Warszawa: Iskry.
Mrożek, Sławomir (1962) *Deszcz*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

[20] Part of the novel, originally entitled *Zaraz po wojnie* (Right After the War), appeared in serial form in the 1947 issues of the weekly *Odrodzenie*. It was published in book form in 1948 as *Popiół i diament*. Andrzejewski, however, kept introducing changes in the subsequent editions of the text. The English translation is based on the 1957 PIW edition.
[21] Most probably the translation was done on the basis of Jerzy Lisowski's French version of the book, *Les portes du paradis* (1961).

Everyday life in post-war Poland

Dygat, Stanisław (1969) *Cloak of Illusion*, trans. by David John Welsh, Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press.
Dygat, Stanisław (1965) *Disneyland*, Warszawa: PIW.

Hłasko, Marek (1960) *Next Stop – Paradise*, trans. by Norbert Guterman, New York, NY: Dutton.
Hłasko, Marek (1957) *Głupcy wierzą w poranek*, *Panorama: śląski tygodnik ilustrowany*, supplement "Powieść, Nowela, Rozrywki Umysłowe," 13th January 1957 – 2nd June 1957.
Hłasko, Marek (1958) *Następny do raju* [in:] *Cmentarze*; *Następny do raju*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Hłasko, Marek (1980) *Następny do raju*, Kraków: KOS.
Hłasko, Marek (1985) *Następny do raju* [in:] *Utwory wybrane*, Vol. 2, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Historical novels

Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1967) *The Island: Three Tales*, trans. by Ronald Strom, Cleveland; New York, NY: World Publishing. Contains: "The Island" and "The Tower" (from *Skrzydła ołtarza*); and "The Second Coming" ("Drugie przyjście").
Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1960) *Skrzydła ołtarza*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1981) *Skrzydła ołtarza*, Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Solidarność" and Warszawa: Enklawa.
Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1995) *Skrzydła ołtarza*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.
Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1963) *Drugie przyjście oraz inne opowiadania i szkice*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1981) *Drugie przyjście oraz inne opowiadania i szkice*, Warszawa: Enklawa.
Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1990) *Opowiadania zebrane*, Poznań: W drodze.

Science-fiction and fantasy

Dobraczyński, Jan (1964) *To Drain the Sea*, trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, London: Heinemann.
Dobraczyński, Jan (1961) *Wyczerpać morze*, Warszawa: Pax.

Children's stories

Bechlerowa, Helena (1963) *Teddy and the Seesaw*, trans. anon., ill. by Janusz Jurjewicz, London: Methuen.
Bechlerowa, Helena (1960) *Miś na huśtawce*, ill. by Janusz Jurewicz, Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.

Levandovska, Cecilia (1964) *The World of the Bee*, trans. anon., ill. by Mateusz Gawryś, London: Heinemann; Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.
Lewandowska, Cecylia (1950) *Wielkie prace małej pszczoły*, ill. by Mateusz Gawryś, Warszawa: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych.

Pokorska, Krystyna (1963) *Make Me a Farm*, trans. anon., ill. by Juliusz Makowski, London: Methuen.
Pokorska, Krystyna (1961) *Moje gospodarstwo*, ill. by Juliusz Makowski, Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.

Wernerowa, Jadwiga (1961) *Squirrel Redcoat*, trans. by Maria Paczyńska, ill. by Janusz Grabiański, London: Heinemann, and New York, NY: F. Watts.
Wernerowa, Jadwiga (1958) *Rudzia*, ill. by Janusz Grabiański, Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.

Other subjects

Andrzeyevski, George (1965) *A Sitter for a Satyr* [American title], trans. by Celina Wieniewska, New York, NY: Dutton.
Andrzeyevski, George (1965) *He Cometh Leaping upon the Mountains* [British title], trans. by Celina Wieniewska, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
Andrzejewski, Jerzy (1963) *Idzie skacząc po górach*, Warszawa: PIW.

Gombrowicz, Witold (1966) *Pornografia*, trans. from the French by Alastair Hamilton, London: Calder & Boyars.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1960) *Pornografia*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1980) *Pornografia*, Pułtusk: Oficyna Narodowa.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1986) *Pornografia*, w: *Dzieła*, Vol. 4, Kraków, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Gombrowicz, Witold (1967) *Cosmos*, trans. from the French and German by Eric Mosbacher, London: MacGibbon & Kee, and New York, NY: Grove Press.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1965) *Kosmos*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1980) *Kosmos*, Warszawa: Klin.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1986) *Kosmos*, w: *Dzieła*, Vol. 5, Kraków, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Odojewski, Włodzimierz (1964) *The Dying Day*, trans. by Maurice A. Michael, New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World.
Odojewski, Włodzimierz (1959) *Miejsca nawiedzone*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie.

Themerson, Stefan (1961) *Cardinal Pölätüo*, trans. by the author, London: Gaberbocchus Press.
Themerson, Stefan (1971) *Kardynał Pölätüo*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Anthologies

Angoff, Charles (ed.) (1969) *Stories from the Literary Review*, Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. Contains a piece by **Zofia Nałkowska** ("Beside the Railroad Track," trans. by Edmund Ordon, orig. "Przy torze kolejowym").

Gillon, Adam, Ludwik Krzyżanowski (eds) (1964) *Introduction to Modern Polish Literature: An Anthology of Fiction and Poetry*, New York, NY: Twayne Publishers. Among other texts, contains post-war short stories or excerpts from novels by: **Zofia Nałkowska** ("Professor Spanner," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, orig. "Profesor Spanner"), **Maria Dąbrowska** ("On a Beautiful Summer Morning," trans. anon.[22], orig. "W piękny letni poranek"), **Zofia Kossak** (an excerpt from *The Covenant*, trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, orig. *Przymierze*), **Jan Parandowski** ("An Ordinary Day," trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, orig. "Dzień powszedni"), **Jerzy Andrzejewski** ("The Trial," trans. by Adam Gillon and Ludwik Krzyżanowski, orig. "Przed sądem"), **Adolf Rudnicki** ("The Great Stefan Konecki," trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, orig. "Wielki Stefan Konecki"), **Kazimierz Brandys** ("How to Be Loved," trans. by Magdalena Czajkowska, orig. "Jak być kochaną"), **Jerzy Zawieyski** ("Cry on the Void," trans. by R. M. Montgomery, orig. "Krzyk w próżni świata"), **Marek Hłasko** ("A First Step into the Clouds," trans. anon.[23], orig. "Pierwszy krok w chmurach"), **Tadeusz Różewicz** ("In the Most Beautiful City of the World," trans. by Adam Czerniawski, orig. "W najpiękniejszym mieście świata").

Gömöri, George and Charles Newman (eds) (1968) *New Writing of East Europe*, Chicago: Quadrangle Books. Among other texts, contains post-war short stories or excerpts from novels by: **Jacek Bocheński** ("Tabu," trans. by Marcus Wheeler, an excerpt from *Tabu*) and **Marek Hłasko** ("Amor 43," trans. by Teresa Fand, orig. "Amor nie przyszedł dziś wieczorem").

Kijowski, Andrzej (sel.) (1960) *Contemporary Polish Short Stories*, Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House. Contains short stories by: **Jerzy Andrzejewski** ("The Sons," trans. by Edward Rothert, orig. "Synowie"), **Tadeusz Borowski** ("Ladies and Gentelmen, to the Gas Chamber," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, orig. "Proszę Państwa do gazu"), **Kazimierz Brandys** ("The Defence of the 'Granada'," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, orig. "Obrona 'Grenady'"), **Bohdan Czeszko** ("Vexations of Power," trans. by Ilona Ralf Sues, orig. "Kłopoty władzy"), **Maria Dąbrowska** ("A Change Came O'er the Scenes of My Dream," trans. anon., orig. "Tu zaszła zmiana"), **Kornel Filipowicz** ("Victory," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, orig. "Zwycięstwo"), **Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz** ("The Badger," trans. by Ilona Ralf Sues, orig. "Borsuk"), **Zofia Nałkowska** ("Nadir," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, orig. "Dno"), **Ksawery Pruszyński** ("For the Head of a Negro King," trans. by Ilona Ralf Sues, "O głowę murzyńskiego króla"), **Jerzy Putrament** ("The Accident at Krasnystaw," trans. by Edward Rothert, "Wypadek w Krasnymstawie"), **Tadeusz Różewicz** ("Beer," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, "Piwo"), **Adolf Rudnicki** ("Easter," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, orig. "Wielkanoc"), **Jerzy Zawieyski** ("The Real End of the Great War," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, orig. "Prawdziwy koniec wielkiej wojny"), **Stanisław Zieliński** ("Before Dawn," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, orig. "Przed świtem"), **Wojciech Żukrowski** ("The Milk Sop," trans. by Jadwiga Zwolska, orig. "Mli mli").

[22] A reprint from *Poland. Illustrated Magazine*.
[23] A reprint from *Poland. Illustrated Magazine*.

Kuncewiczowa, Maria (ed.) (1962) *The Modern Polish Mind: An Anthology of Stories and Essays by Writers Living in Poland Today*, Boston, Toronto: Little & Brown. Among other texts, contains post-war short stories or excerpts from novels by: **Wiktor Woroszylski** ("The Watch," trans. by Barbara Vedder, orig. "Zegarek"), **Zofia Starowieyska-Morstin[owa]** ("Death of Grandmother Zabielska," trans. by Wanda Jaeckel, an excerpt from *Dom*), **Kornel Filipowicz** ("A Speck of Dirt," trans. by Harry Stevens, orig. "Pyłek w oku"), **Jan Józef Szczepański** ("The Tramp," trans. by Barbara Vedder, an excerpt from "Wszarz"), **Jerzy Zawieyski** ("Conrad in the Ghetto," trans. by Marcus Wheeler, orig. "Requiem dla nich obu"), **Tadeusz Borowski** ("A Day at Harmenz," trans. by Harry Stevens, orig. "Dzień na Harmenzach"), **Stanisław Stanuch** ("Portrait from Memory," trans. by Celina Wieniewska, an excerpt from *Portret z pamięci*), **Adolf Rudnicki** ("The Crystal Stream," trans. by Harry Stevens, orig. "Czysty nurt"), **Maria Dąbrowska** ("Village Wedding," trans. by Rachel Kuraho, orig. "Na wsi wesele" and "A Happy Creature, trans. by Celina Wieniewska, orig. "Szczęśliwa istota"), **Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz** ("Sweet Flag," trans. by Celina Wieniewska, "Tatarak"), **Magda Leja** ("Jokes," trans. by Ewa Markowska, orig. "Żarty"), **Julian Kawalec** ("Strength," trans. by Harry Stevens, "Silni" and "I Kill Myself," trans. by Harry Stevens, orig. "Poświęcę się"), **Jerzy Andrzejewski** ("The Gold Fox," trans. by Barbara Vedder, orig. "Złoty lis"), **Tadeusz Różewicz** ("An Unfinished Examination," trans. by Barbara Vedder, orig. "Przerwany egzamin"), **Kazimierz Brandys** ("Ladies and Gentlemen...," trans. by Celina Wieniewska, orig. "Sobie i państwu"), **Stanisław Czycz** ("Ando," trans. by Celina Wieniewska, an excerpt from the orig. "And"), **Hanna Malewska** ("The Last Man on the Arena," trans. by Wanda Jaeckel, an abridged version of "Ostatni na arenie"), **Jan Dobraczyński** ("The Smile of Jeremiah," trans. by Jolanta Kasicka, an excerpt from *Wybrańcy gwiazd*), **Wojciech Żukrowski** ("Victory," trans. anon., an excerpt from "Zona"), **Stanisław Dygat** ("An Unknown Fragment from Dostoevski's Life," orig. "Nieznany fragment z życia Dostojewskiego" and "The Usher of the 'Helios' Movie Theater," orig. "Portier kina 'Helios'," both trans. by Wanda Jaeckel), **Sławomir Mrożek** ("En Route," orig. "W podróży" and "The Wedding at Atomice," orig. "Wesele w Atomicach," both trans. by Marcus Wheeler), **Stanisław Lem** ("Thirteenth Voyage," trans. by Harry Stevens, orig. "Podróż trzynasta").

Marcus, Steven (ed.) (1966) *The World of Modern Fiction: European*, Vol. 2, New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. Among other texts, contains post-war short stories by: **Tadeusz Borowski** ("This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen," trans. by Barbara Vedder, orig. "Proszę państwa do gazu") and **Sławomir Mrożek** ("On a Journey," trans. by Konrad Syrop, orig. "W podróży").

Wieniewska, Celina (ed.) (1967) *Polish Writing Today*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. Among other texts, contains post-war short stories or excerpts from novels by: **Eugeniusz Kabatc** ("Too Much Sun," trans. by Andrzej Czartoryski, excerpts from *Za dużo słońca*), **Magda Leja** ("The Forbidden Kingdom," trans. by Marcus Wheeler, orig. "Królestwo bez prawa wstępu"), **Henryk Grynberg** ("The Grave," trans. by Marcus Wheeler, orig. "Grób"), **Stanisław Stanuch** ("King of the Mountains," trans. by Celina Wieniewska, orig. "Król gór"), **Tadeusz Hołuj** ("Full Circle," trans. by Andrzej Czartoryski, orig. "Krąg"), **Jacek Bocheński** ("Tabu," trans. by Marcus Wheeler, excerpts from *Tabu*), **Stanisław Chaciński** ("A Life Goes By," trans. by B. A. Shillito, "Było życie"), **Marek Nowakowski** ("Slob," trans. by Andrzej Czartoryski "Popapraniec"), **Wiesław Dymny** ("Skinny and Others," trans. by Marcus Wheeler, orig. "Chudy i inni").

1970s

The Second World War

Kotowska, Monika (1970) *The Bridge to the Other Side*, trans. by Maja Wojciechowska, Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
Kotowska, Monika (1963) *Most na drugą stronę*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Tomkiewicz, Mina (1970) *Of Bombs and Mice: A Novel of Wartime Warsaw*, trans. by Stefan F. Gazeł, London: Allen & Unwin, and New York, NY: Yoseloff.
Tomkiewicz, Mina (1966) *Bomby i myszy: powieść mieszczańska*, Londyn: Gryf.

Politics in post-war Poland

Andrzejewski, Jerzy (1971) *The Appeal*, trans. by Celina Wieniewska, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, and Indianapolis, IN; New York, NY: Bobbs-Merril.
Andrzejewski, Jerzy (1968) *Apelacja*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Andrzejewski, Jerzy (1983) *Apelacja*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Everyday life in post-war Poland

Brycht, Andrew (1978) *Zoom*, trans. by Kevin Windle, Toronto: Simon & Pierre Publishing Company.
Brycht, Andrzej (1986) "Zmienna ogniskowa" [in:] *Opowieści z tranzytu*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 5-99.

Historical novels

Łysek, Paweł (1977) *At the Border*, trans. by John Zbigniew Kłosek, London: Poets and Painters Press.
Łysek, Paweł (1966) *Przy granicy*, Londyn: Katolicki Ośrodek Wydawniczy "Veritas."

Panas, Henryk (1977) *The Gospel According to Judas*, trans. by Marc E. Heine, London: Hutchinson.
Panas, Henryk (1973) *Według Judasza: apokryf*, Olsztyn: Pojezierze.

Stryjkowski, Julian (1971) *The Inn*, trans. by Celina Wieniewska, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Stryjkowski, Julian (1966) *Austeria*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Wańkowicz, Melchior (1973) *Three Generations*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Toronto: Canadian-Polish Research Institute in Canada.
Wańkowicz, Melchior (1954) *Tworzywo*, New York, NY: Roy Publishers.
Wańkowicz, Melchior (1960) *Tworzywo*, Warszawa: Pax.

Science-fiction and fantasy

Lem, Stanisław (1970) *Solaris*, trans. from the French by Joanna Kilmartin and Steve Cox, New York, NY: Walker.
Lem, Stanisław (1961) *Solaris*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo MON.

Lem, Stanisław (1973) *The Invincible*, trans. from the German by Wendayne Ackerman, London: Sidgwick & Jackson, and New York, NY: Seabury Press.
Lem, Stanisław (1964) *Niezwyciężony i inne opowiadania*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo MON.

Lem, Stanisław (1973) *Memoirs Found in a Bathtub*, trans. by Michael Kandel and Christine Rose, New York, NY: Seabury Press.
Lem, Stanisław (1961) *Pamiętnik znaleziony w wannie*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Lem, Stanisław (1974) *The Cyberiad: Fables for the Cybernetic Age*, trans. by Michael Kandel, New York, NY: Seabury Press.
Lem, Stanisław (1965) *Cyberiada*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Lem, Stanisław (1974) *The Futurological Congress: From the Memoirs of Ijon Tichy*, trans. by Michael Kandel, New York, NY: Seabury Press.
Lem, Stanisław (1971) *Kongres futurologiczny* [in:] *Bezsenność*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Lem, Stanisław (1974) *The Investigation*, trans. by Adèle Milch, New York, NY: Seabury Press.
Lem, Stanisław (1959) *Śledztwo*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo MON.

Lem, Stanisław (1976) *The Star Diaries* (selected stories), trans. by Michael Kandel, London: Secker and Warburg, and New York, NY: Seabury Press.
Lem, Stanisław (1957) *Dzienniki gwiazdowe*, Warszawa: Iskry.

Lem, Stanisław (1977) *Mortal Engines* (selected stories, mostly from *Bajki robotów*; contains also the translation of "Zakład doktora Vliperdiusa" – "The Sanatorium of Dr. Vliperdius," "Polowanie" – "The Hunt," and "Maska" – "The Mask"), trans. by Michael Kandel, New York, NY: Seabury Press.
Lem, Stanisław (1964) *Bajki robotów*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Lem, Stanisław (1978) *The Chain of Chance*, trans. by Louis Iribarne, London: Secker & Warburg, and San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Lem, Stanisław (1976) *Katar*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Lem, Stanisław (1979) *Tales of Pirx the Pilot* (selected stories), trans. by Louis Iribarne, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Lem, Stanisław (1968) *Opowieści o pilocie Pirxie*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Children's stories

Leja, Magda (1977) *The Boy from the Skyscraper*, trans. by Jerzy Brodzki, ill. by Tomasz Bogacki, Warszawa: KAW.
Leja, Magda (1977) *Chłopiec z wieżowca*, ill. by Tomasz Bogacki, Warszawa: KAW.

Niklewiczowa, Maria (1970) *A Sparrow's Magic*, trans. by Alvin Tresselt, ill. by Fuyuji Yamanaka, New York, NY: Parents' Magazine Press.
Niklewiczowa, Maria (1956) *Wróbel czarodziej*, ill. by Jan Samuel Miklaszewski, Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.

Piotrowski, Mieczysław (1979) *The Grey Ear*, trans. by Jerzy Brodzki, ill. by the autor, Warszawa: KAW.
Piotrowski, Mieczysław (1963) *Szare uszko*, ill. by the autor, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Other subjects

Kołakowski, Leszek (1972) *The Key to Heaven: Edifying Tales from Holy Scripture to Serve as Teaching and Warning* [American edition], New York, NY: Grove Press. Contains: *The Key to Heaven*, trans. from the German by Salvator Attanasio, and *Conversations with the Devil*, trans. by Celina Wieniewska.
Kołakowski, Leszek (1964) *Klucz niebieski albo Opowieści budujące z historii świętej zebrane ku pouczeniu i przestrodze*, Warszawa: PIW.
Kołakowski, Leszek (1965) *Rozmowy z diabłem*, Warszawa: PIW.

Kołakowski, Leszek (1973) *The Devil and Scripture* [British edition], London: Oxford University Press. Contains: *The Key to Heaven*, trans. by Nicholas Bethell, and *Talk of the Devil*, trans. by Celina Wieniewska. PARTIAL RETRANSLATION
Kołakowski, Leszek (1964) *Klucz niebieski albo Opowieści budujące z historii świętej zebrane ku pouczeniu i przestrodze*, Warszawa: PIW.
Kołakowski, Leszek (1965) *Rozmowy z diabłem*, Warszawa: PIW.

Konwicki, Tadeusz (1977) *The Anthropos-Spectre-Beast*, trans. by George Korwin Rodziszewski and Audrey Korwin Rodziszewski, Oxford; London; Melbourne: Oxford University Press, and New York, NY: Phillips.
Konwicki, Tadeusz (1969) *Zwierzoczłekoupiór*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Kuncewiczowa, Maria (1974) *Tristan*, rewritten in English by the author, New York, NY: G. Braziller.
Kuncewiczowa, Maria (1967) *Tristan 1946*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Szechter, Szymon (1977) *Bridge on Ice*, trans. by Frances Caroll and Nina Karsov, London: Boyars.
Szechter, Szymon (1975) *Szechterezada*, Londyn: Kontra.
Szechter, Szymon (1987) *Szechterezada*, Lublin: Oficyna im. Józefa Mackiewicza, and Warszawa: Maraton.

Żytomirski, Eugeniusz (1975) *Gothic Avenue*, trans. from the unpublished Polish manuscript by Ann Kupnicki, Toronto: Avant-Garde Books.

Anthologies

Children Everywhere (ed. anon.) (1970) Chicago: Field Enterprises Educational Corporation. Among other texts, contains a story by **Czesław Janczarski** (*Near or Far*, trans. anon., orig. *Blisko czy daleko*).

Fultz, Barbara (ed.) (1970) *The Naked Emperor: An Anthology of International Political Satire*, trans. by Antoni Marianowicz and his *Szpilki* staff, New York, NY: Pegasus. Among other texts, contains short stories by such Polish authors as: **Janusz Osęka** ("Chronicle of a Planet," orig. "Kronika pewnej planety"), **Feliks Derecki** ("The Lion Tamer," orig. "Na arenie"), **Sławomir Mrożek** ("The Petition," orig. "Podanie").

Miller, James E., Robert O'Neal and Helen McDonnell (eds) (1970) *Man in Literature: Comparative World Studies in Translation*, Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman. Among other texts, contains: **Jerzy Andrzejewski** ("The Trial," trans. by Adam Gillon and Ludwik Krzyżanowski, orig. "Przed sądem").

Miller, James E., Robert O'Neal and Helen McDonnell (eds) (1970) *Russian and Eastern European Literature*, Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman. Among other texts, contains short stories by **Sławomir Mrożek** ("On a Journey," orig. "W podróży;" "Children," orig. "Dzieci" and "Poetry," orig. "Poezja," all trans. by Konrad Syrop).

Rottensteiner, Franz (ed.) (1973) *View from Another Shore: European Science Fiction*, New York, NY: Seabury Press. Among other texts, contains a short story by **Stanisław Lem** ("In Hot Pursuit of Happiness," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Kobyszczę").

Strzetelski, Jerzy (ed.) (1977) *An Introduction to Polish Literature* [Part 2, A bilingual anthology], trans. by the editor,[24] Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Among other texts, contains short stories by: **Zofia Nałkowska** ("Professor Spanner," orig. ("Profesor Spanner"),

[24] The editor expresses his gratitude to Prof. E. C. McGahan and Prof. Henry Niedzielski, as well as to dr Claire Grece-Dąbrowska, dr Frank Cunningham, dr Joseph Mullin and dr Leighton Pratt for their help in translating the included texts and for their proofreading (Strzetelski 1977: 458-459).

Jan Dobraczyński ("The Letters of Nicodemus," an excerpt from *Listy Nikodema*), **Kazimierz Brandys** ("How to Be Loved," an excerpt from "Jak być kochaną"), **Tadeusz Konwicki** ("A Dreambook for Our Time," an excerpt from *Sennik współczesny*), **Sławomir Mrożek** ("On a Journey," orig. "W podróży"), **Zbigniew Brzozowski** ("In the Little Town That Is Like a Garden from Andersen…," an excerpt from "W miasteczku, które jest jak ogród Andersena…") and **Marek Sołtysik** ("Free-wheel," orig. "Luz").

Suvin, Darko (ed.) (1970) *Other Worlds, Other Seas: Science-Fiction Stories from Socialist Countries*, New York, NY: Random House. Among other texts, contains short stories by **Stanisław Lem** ("The Patrol," trans. by Thomas Hoisington, orig. "Patrol;" "The Computer That Fought a Dragon," trans. by Krzysztof Klinger, orig. "Bajka o maszynie cyfrowej, co ze smokiem walczyła;" "The Thirteenth Journey of Ion Tichy," trans. by Thomas Hoisington, orig. "Podróż trzynasta" and "The Twenty-fourth Journey of Ion Tichy," trans. by Jane Andelman, orig. "Podróż dwudziesta czwarta").

Tyrmand, Leopold (ed.) (1970) *Explorations in Freedom: Prose, Narrative and Poetry from Kultura*, New York, NY: The Free Press in co-operation with The State University of New York at Albany; London: Collier-Macmillan. Among other texts, contains short stories and excerpts from novels by such Polish authors as: **Stanisław Vincenz** ("A Rarity," trans. by Hubert Babiński, "Rarytas"), **Zygmunt Haupt** ("Lili Marlene," trans. by the author, orig. ("Lili Marlene"), **Czesław Miłosz** ("Magdalena," trans. by Rulka Langer, an excerpt from *Dolina Issy*), **Leo Lipski** ("Day and Night: For the Opening of the Volga-Don Canal," trans. by Barbara Vedder, orig. "Dzień i noc: Na otwarcie kanału Wołga-Don"), **Józef Mackiewicz** ("Contra," trans. by Alexander T. Jordan, excerpts from *Kontra*), **Tadeusz Nowakowski** ("The Liberty Picnic," trans. by John David Welsh, orig. "Piknik wolności"), **Piotr Guzy** ("The Short Life of a Positive Hero," trans. by Vera von Wiren-Graczyński, an excerpt from *Krótki żywot bohatera pozytywnego*), **Tomasz Staliński** [pseudonym of **Stefan Kisielewski**] ("The Funeral," trans. by Barbara Vedder, an excerpt from *Widziane z góry*) and **Leopold Tyrmand** ("A Cocktail Party," trans. by Ronald Strom, an excerpt from *Życie towarzyskie i uczuciowe*).

1980s

The Second World War

Brandys, Kazimierz (1989) *Rondo*, trans. by Jarosław Anders, New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, Giroux.
Brandys, Kazimierz (1982) *Rondo*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Fink, Ida (1987) *A Scrap of Time and Other Stories*, trans. by Madeline G. Levine and Francine Prose, New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
Fink, Ida (1987) *Skrawek czasu*, Londyn: Aneks.
Fink, Ida (1988) *Skrawek czasu*, Kraków: Margines and Warszawa: Myśl.
Fink, Ida (2002) *Odpływający ogród: opowiadania zebrane*, Warszawa: WAB. Contains the stories from *Skrawek czasu*.

Lem, Stanisław (1988) *Hospital of the Transfiguration*, trans. by William R. Brand, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Lem, Stanisław (1955) *Szpital Przemienienia* [in:] *Czas nieutracony*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Nomberg-Przytyk, Sara (1985) *Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land*, trans. by Roslyn Hirsch from the unpublished Polish manuscript written in 1966, Chapel Hill, NC; London: University of North Karolina Press.

Szczypiorski, Andrzej (1989) *The Beautiful Mrs. Seidenman*, trans. by Klara Główczewska, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
Szczypiorski, Andrzej (1986) *Początek*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Szczypiorski, Andrzej (1986) *Początek*, Warszawa: Przedświt.
Szczypiorski, Andrzej (1990) *Początek*, Poznań: Kantor Wydawniczy SAWW.

Politics in post-war Poland

Anderman, Janusz (1985) *Poland Under Black Light: With the Author's New Story from Warsaw* ["Empty… Sort of," orig. "Jakoś pusto"], trans. by Nina Taylor and Andrew Short [pseudonym], London; New York: Readers International.
Anderman, Janusz (1983) *Brak tchu: opowiadania*, London: Puls Publications.
Anderman, Janusz (1985) *Brak tchu*, Warszawa: Myśl.
Anderman, Janusz (1990) *Brak tchu*; *Kraj świata*, Poznań: Kantor Wydawniczy SAWW.

Anderman, Janusz (1988) *The Edge of the World*, trans. by Nina Taylor, Columbia, LA: Readers International.
Anderman, Janusz (1988) *Kraj świata*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Anderman, Janusz (1988) *Kraj świata*, Warszawa: PoMOST.
Anderman, Janusz (1990) *Brak tchu*; *Kraj świata*, Poznań: Kantor Wydawniczy SAWW.

Brandys, Kazimierz (1980) *A Question of Reality*, trans. from the French by Isabel Barzun, New York: C. Scribner's Sons.
Brandys, Kazimierz (1977) *Nierzeczywistość*, Warszawa: NOWa.
Brandys, Kazimierz (1978) *Nierzeczywistość*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Brandys, Kazimierz (2009) *Nierzeczywistość*, Warszawa: Bellona, Volumen.

Głowacki, Janusz (1983) *Give Us This Day*, trans. by Konrad Brodziński, London: Deutsch, and New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
Głowacki, Janusz (1981) *Moc truchleje*, Warszawa: Krąg.
Głowacki, Janusz (1982) *Moc truchleje*, London: Puls Publications.
Głowacki, Janusz (1990) *Moc truchleje*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1982) *The Polish Complex*, trans. by Richard Lourie, New York, NY: Farrar Straus Giroux.
Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1977) *Kompleks polski*, Warszawa: NOWa [*Zapis* 3].
Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1978) *Kompleks polski*, London: Index on Censorship [*Zapis* 3].
Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1989) *Kompleks polski*, Warszawa: Alfa.

Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1983) *A Minor Apocalypse*, trans. by Richard Lourie, New York, NY: Farrar Straus Giroux and London, Boston: Faber and Faber.
Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1979) *Mała apokalipsa*, Warszawa: NOWa [*Zapis* 10].
Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1979) *Mała apokalipsa*, London: Index on Censorship [*Zapis* 10].
Konwicki, **Tadeusz** (1988) *Mała apokalipsa*, Warszawa: Alfa.

Nowakowski, Marek (1983) *The Canary and Other Tales of Martial Law*, trans. by Krystyna Bronkowska, London: Harvill Press.
Nowakowski, Marek (1982) *Raport o stanie wojennym*, Warszawa: NOWa.
Nowakowski, Marek (1982) *Raport o stanie wojennym*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Nowakowski, Marek (1990) *Raport o stanie wojennym*, Białystok: Versus.

Szechter, Szymon (1983) *A Stolen Biography*, trans. by Frances Carroll and Nina Karsov, London: N. Karsov.
Szechter, Szymon (1983) *Czas zatrzymany do wyjaśnienia*, Londyn: Kontra.

Everyday life in post-war Poland

NONE

Historical novels

Dobraczyński, Jan (1988) *Meetings with the Madonna*, trans. by Piotr Goc, revised and edited for the American reader by W. S. Kuniczak and Lawrence Lockhart, Warsaw: Polonia Publishers.
Dobraczyński, Jan (1979) *Spotkania jasnogórskie*, Warszawa: Pax.

Kuśniewicz, Andrzej (1980) *The King of the Two Sicilies*, trans. by Celina Wieniewska, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Kuśniewicz, Andrzej (1970) *Król Obojga Sycylii*, Warszawa: PIW.

Łysek, Paweł (1980) *The Hard Life of Jura Odcesty*, trans. by Ludwik Krzyżanowski, London: Poets and Painters Press.[25]
Łysek, Paweł (1970) *Twarde żywobycie Jury Odcesty*, Londyn: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna.

Maliński, Mieczysław (1982) *Witnesses to Jesus: The Stories of Five Who Knew Him*, trans. by Lucy Mazareski, New York, NY: Crossroad, and Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oats.
Maliński, Mieczysław (1975) *Świadkowie Jezusa*, Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha.

Science-fiction and fantasy

Lem, Stanisław (1980) *Return from the Stars*, trans. by Barbara Marszal and Frank Simpson, London: Secker & Warburg, and San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Lem, Stanisław (1961) *Powrót z gwiazd*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Lem, Stanisław (1982) *Memoirs of a Space Traveler: Further Reminiscences of Ijon Tichy* (selected stories), trans. by Joel Stern and Maria Święcicka-Ziemianek, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Lem, Stanisław (1957) *Dzienniki gwiazdowe*, Warszawa: Iskry.

Lem, Stanisław (1982) *More Tales of Pirx the Pilot* (selected stories), San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, and Harmondsworth: Penguin. Contains: *Pirx's Tale*, *The Inquest*, *Ananke*, trans. by Louis Iribarne with the assistance of Magdalena Majcherczyk; *The Accident*, trans. by Louis Iribarne; and *The Hunt*, trans. by Michael Kandel.
Lem, Stanisław (1968) *Opowieści o pilocie Pirxie*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Lem, Stanisław (1983) *His Master's Voice*, trans. by Michael Kandel, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, and London: Secker & Warburg.
Lem, Stanisław (1968) *Głos Pana*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Lem, Stanisław (1984) *Imaginary Magnitude*,[26] trans. by Marc E. Heine, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. The book additionally includes *Golem XIV*, classified as a science-fiction novel.
Lem, Stanisław (1981) *Golem XIV*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

[25] According to Maria Danilewicz-Zielińska *Twarde żywobycie Jury Odcesty* was also translated into English by his American students of Polish origin, for whom the Silesian dialect of the narrative was easy to understand (Danilewicz-Zielińska 2000: 53).
[26] *Wielkość urojona* (1973; *Imaginary Magnitude*, 1984), *Doskonała próżnia* (1971; *A Perfect Vacuum*, 1978, trans. by Michael Kandel), *Prowokacja* (1984; Provocation) and *Biblioteka XXI wieku* (1986; *One Human Minute*, 1986, trans. by Catherine S. Leach) are literary sketches in the form of introductions and reviews of non-existent books.

Lem, Stanisław (1987) *Fiasco*, trans. by Michael Kandel, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, and London: Deutsch.
Lem, Stanisław (1987) *Fiasko*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Lem, Stanisław (1989) *Eden*, trans. by Marc E. Heine, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, and London: Deutsch.
Lem, Stanisław (1959) *Eden*, Warszawa: Iskry.

Children's stories

Dąbrowski, Jerzy (1987) *Leśne harce = Woodland Frolics*, trans. by Tomasz Wyżyński, ill. by Danuta Cesarska, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia. Parallel Polish and English texts. Childern's story in verse.

Lipska, Barbara (1987) *Poniedziałek na wyspie = Monday on the Island*, trans. by Emma Harris; verse translation by Tomasz Wyżyński, ill. by Adam Łowicki after Piotr Paweł Lutczyn's designs, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia. Parallel Polish and English texts. *Tydzień przygód w Afryce* 1 = *A Week of Adventures in Africa* 1.

Lipska, Barbara (1988) *Na ratunek plantacji = Saving the Plantation*, trans. by Emma Harris, ill. by Adam Łowicki after Piotr Paweł Lutczyn's designs, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia. Parallel Polish and English texts. *Tydzień przygód w Afryce* 2 = *A Week of Adventures in Africa* 2.

Lipska, Barbara (1989) *Wycieczka na pustynię = An Excursion to the Desert*, trans. by Emma Harris, ill. by Adam Łowicki after Piotr Paweł Lutczyn's designs, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia. Parallel Polish and English texts. *Tydzień przygód w Afryce* 3 = *A Week of Adventures in Africa* 3.

Lipska, Barbara (1989) *Powrót balonem = Returning by Balloon*, trans. by Emma Harris, ill. by Adam Łowicki after Piotr Paweł Lutczyn's designs, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia. Parallel Polish and English texts. *Tydzień przygód w Afryce* 4 = *A Week of Adventures in Africa* 4.[27]

Siatkiewicz, Jerzy Maciej (1987) *Zasiedliny = Settling In*, trans. by Emma Harris, ill. by Wiesław Zięba, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia. Parallel Polish and English texts. *Tajemnice Wiklinowej Zatoki* 1 = *The Secrets of Osier Bay* 1.

Siatkiewicz, Jerzy Maciej (1989) *Intruz = The Intruder*, trans. by Emma Harris, ill. by Wiesław Zięba, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia. Parallel Polish and English texts. *Tajemnice Wiklinowej Zatoki* 2 = *The Secrets of Osier Bay* 2.

[27] The database lists the titles which appeared in the series until 1989.

Siatkiewicz, Jerzy Maciej (1989) *Szafir = Sapphire*, trans. by Emma Harris, ill. by Wiesław Zięba, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia. Parallel Polish and English texts. *Tajemnice Wiklinowej Zatoki* 3 = *The Secrets of Osier Bay* 3.

Siatkiewicz, Jerzy Maciej (1989) *Powódź = The Flood*, trans. by Emma Harris, ill. by Wiesław Zięba, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polonia. Parallel Polish and English texts. *Tajemnice Wiklinowej Zatoki* 4 = *The Secrets of Osier Bay* 4.[28]

Wolski, Sławomir (1988) *Tiger Cat*, trans. from the German by Elizabeth J. Crawford, ill. by Józef Wilkoń, London: North-South.
Wolski, Sławomir (1988) *Mister Browns Katze*, trans. from the Polish manuscript by Brigitte Hanhart, ill. by Józef Wilkoń, Mönchaltorf; Hamburg: Nord-Süd Verlag.

Other subjects

Bonikowska, Halina (1989) *Island Diary: Short Stories*, trans. by Jan Karasek, Stevens Point, WI: Artex Press.
Bonikowska, Halina (1987) *Dziennik pisany na wyspie: opowiadania*, Stevens Point, WI: Artex Press.

Bednarczyk, Czesław (1988) *Kubus: My Friend the Cat*, trans. by Margaret N. Watson, London: Poets and Painters Press.
Bednarczyk, Czesław (1985) *Kubuś*, Londyn: Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy.

Kołakowski, Leszek (1989) *Tales from the Kingdom of Lailonia and The Key to Heaven*, Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press. Contains: *Tales from the Kingdom of Lailonia*, trans. by Agnieszka Kolakowska; *The Key to Heaven*, trans. from the German by Salvator Attanasio.
Kołakowski, Leszek (1963) *13 bajek z królestwa Lailonii dla dużych i małych*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.
Kołakowski, Leszek (1964) *Klucz niebieski albo Opowieści budujące z historii świętej zebrane ku pouczeniu i przestrodze*, Warszawa: PIW.

Miłosz, Czesław (1981) *The Issa Valley*, trans. by Louis Iribarne, New York, NY: Farrar Straus Giroux, and London: Sidgwick & Jackson; Manchester: Carcanet.
Miłosz, Czesław (1955) *Dolina Issy*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Miłosz, Czesław (1981) *Dolina Issy*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Anthologies

Aldiss, Brian W., Sam J. Lundwall (eds) (1986) *The Penguin World Omnibus of Science Fiction*, London: Penguin. Contains a story by **Konrad Fiałkowski** ("A Perfect Christmas Evening," anon. trans., orig. "Wspaniałe piwo na wigilijny wieczór").

[28] The database lists the titles which appeared in the series until 1989.

Goscilo, Helena (ed.) (1985) *Russian and Polish Women's Fiction*, trans. by Helena Goscilo, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. Among other texts, contains stories by **Zofia Nałkowska** ("At the Railroad Track," orig. "Przy torze kolejowym" and "Rock Bottom", orig. "Dno").

Gunn, James (ed.) (1982) *The Road to Science Fiction*.Vol. 4: *From Here to Forever*, New York, NY: Signet. Contains a story by **Stanisław Lem** ("The First Sally (A), or Trurl's Electronic Bard," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Wyprawa pierwsza A, czyli Elektrybałt Trurla").

Hartwell, David G. (ed.) (1989) *The World Treasury of Science Fiction*, Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co. Contains two stories by **Stanisław Lem**, trans. by Michael Kandel ("The Tale of the Computer That Fought a Dragon," orig. "Bajka o maszynie cyfrowej, co ze smokiem walczyła" and "How Erg the Self-Inducting Slew a Paleface," orig. "Jak Erg Samowzbudnik Bladawca pokonał").

Hofstadter, Douglas R., Daniel C. Dennett (eds) (1981) *The Mind's I: Fantasies and Reflections on Self and Soul*, New York, NY: Basic Books; Brighton: Harvester Press; London: Penguin Books; Toronto: Bantam Books. Among other texts, contains stories by **Stanisław Lem** ("The Princess Ineffabelle," an excerpt from "Bajka o trzech maszynach opowiadających króla Genialona" and "The Seventh Sally or How Trurl's Own Perfection Led to No Good," orig. "Wyprawa siódma, czyli o tym jak własna doskonałość Trurla do złego przywiodła," both trans. by Michael Kandel).

Philips, Michael (ed.) (1984) *Philosophy and Science Fiction*, Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. Contains an excerpt from *Solaris* by **Stanisław Lem**, trans. by Joanna Kilmartin and Steve Cox.

Pohl, Frederik, Elizabeth Anne Hull (eds) (1986) *Tales from the Planet Earth*, New York, NY: St Martin's Press. Contains a story by **Janusz A. Zajdel** ("Wyjątkowo trudny teren," trans. by Wiktor Bukato, orig. "Particularly Difficult Territory").

Rottensteiner, Franz (ed.) (1984) *The Slaying of the Dragon: Modern Tales of the Playful Imagination*, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Contains a story by **Stanisław Lem** ("The Mask," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Maska").

Spring, Michael (ed.) (1987) *A Collection of Prose and Poetry on the Theme of Tomorrow*, New York, NY: Scholastic Inc. Contains a story by **Stanisław Lem** ("Trurl's Machine," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Maszyna Trurla").

1990s

The Second World War

Benski, **Stanisław** (1990) *Missing Pieces: Stories*, trans. by Walter Arndt, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Contains: "The Tzaddik's Grandson," orig. "Prawnuczek cadyka;" "Colored Drawings," orig. "Kolorowe rysunki;" "The Round," orig. "Wielki obchód;" "The Viper," orig. "Żmija;" "Trouble Sleeping," orig. "Krótki sen;" "Snapshot," orig. "Cztery fotografie;" "Forty-nine Visits," orig. "Sto czterdziesty trzeci dzień;" "Sulamith," orig. "Sulamit;" "Diamond or Glass," orig. "Brylanty i szkiełka;" "Three Left," excerpts from *Ocaleni*; "A Phone Call from London," orig. "Telefon z Londynu;" "Syndrome," orig. "Pierwszy i ostatni klient;" "On the Corner," orig. "Dwie ulice i kozie rożki;" "A Strange Country," orig. "Dziwny kraj i dziwni ludzie;" "Missing Pieces," orig. "Ta najważniejsza cząsteczka;" "Five Mouths to Feed," orig. "Pięć wygłodzonych gąb."
A selection from:
Benski, **Stanisław** (1979) *Tyle ognia wokoło*, Warszawa: KAW. Contains: "Pięć wygłodzonych gąb" and "Krótki sen."
Benski, **Stanisław** (1982) *Ta najważniejsza cząsteczka*, Warszawa: Czytelnik. Contains: "Prawnuczek cadyka," "Kolorowe rysunki," "Wielki obchód," "Brylanty i szkiełka," "Dwie ulice i kozie rożki," "Sto czterdziesty trzeci dzień," "Pierwszy i ostatni klient," "Ta najważniejsza cząsteczka," "Żmija," "Cztery fotografie."
Benski, **Stanisław** (1985) *Cesarski walc*, Kraków: Wydawnistwo Literackie. Contains: "Sulamit," "Telefon z Londynu."
Benski, **Stanisław** (1986) *Ocaleni*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.
Benski, **Stanisław** (1987) *Strażnik świąt*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie. Contains: "Dziwny kraj i dziwni ludzie."

Rutha, Bogdan (1999) *The Rat Palace*, trans. by Perry Dantes-Nowakowski, Greensboro, NC: Tudor.
Rutha, Bogdan (1973) *Szczurzy pałac*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
Rutha, Bogdan (1977) *Szczurzy pałac* [new revised edition], Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.

Rymkiewicz, Jarosław M. (1994) *The Final Station: Umschlagplatz*, trans. by Nina Taylor, New York, NY: Farrar Straus Giroux.
Rymkiewicz, Jarosław M. (1988) *Umschlagplatz*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Rymkiewicz, Jarosław M. (1988) *Umschlagplatz*, Warszawa: NOWa.
Rymkiewicz, Jarosław M. (1992) *Umschlagplatz*, Gdańsk: JMJ.

Wojdowski, Bogdan (1997) *Bread for the Departed*, trans. by Madeline G. Levine, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
Wojdowski, Bogdan (1971) *Chleb rzucony umarłym*, Warszawa: PIW.

Politics in post-war Poland

Szczypiorski, Andrzej (1993) *A Mass for Arras*, trans. by Richard Lourie, New York: Grove Press.
Szczypiorski, Andrzej (1971) *Msza za miasto Arras*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Everyday life in post-war Poland

Benski, **Stanisław** (1990) *Missing Pieces: Stories*, trans. by Walter Arndt, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. Contains: "The Tzaddik's Grandson," orig. "Prawnuczek cadyka;" "Colored Drawings," orig. "Kolorowe rysunki;" "The Round," orig. "Wielki obchód;" "The Viper," orig. "Żmija;" "Trouble Sleeping," orig. "Krótki sen;" "Snapshot," orig. "Cztery fotografie;" "Forty-nine Visits," orig. "Sto czterdziesty trzeci dzień;" "Sulamith," orig. "Sulamit;" "Diamond or Glass," orig. "Brylanty i szkiełka;" "Three Left," excerpts from *Ocaleni*; "A Phone Call from London," orig. "Telefon z Londynu;" "Syndrome," orig. "Pierwszy i ostatni klient;" "On the Corner," orig. "Dwie ulice i kozie rożki;" "A Strange Country," orig. "Dziwny kraj i dziwni ludzie;" "Missing Pieces," orig. "Ta najważniejsza cząsteczka;" "Five Mouths to Feed," orig. "Pięć wygłodzonych gąb."
A selection from:
Benski, **Stanisław** (1979) *Tyle ognia wokoło*, Warszawa: KAW. Contains: "Pięć wygłodzonych gąb" and "Krótki sen."
Benski, **Stanisław** (1982) *Ta najważniejsza cząsteczka*, Warszawa: Czytelnik. Contains: "Prawnuczek cadyka," "Kolorowe rysunki," "Wielki obchód," "Brylanty i szkiełka," "Dwie ulice i kozie rożki," "Sto czterdziesty trzeci dzień," "Pierwszy i ostatni klient," "Ta najważniejsza cząsteczka," "Żmija," "Cztery fotografie."
Benski, **Stanisław** (1985) *Cesarski walc*, Kraków: Wydawnistwo Literackie. Contains: "Sulamit," "Telefon z Londynu."
Benski, **Stanisław** (1986) *Ocaleni*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.
Benski, **Stanisław** (1987) *Strażnik świąt*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie. Contains: "Dziwny kraj i dziwni ludzie."

Grynberg, Henryk (1993) *The Victory*, trans. by Richard Lourie, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
Grynberg, Henryk (1969) *Zwycięstwo*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Grynberg, Henryk (1981) *Zwycięstwo*, Warszawa: Signum.
Grynberg, Henryk (1990) *Zwycięstwo*, Poznań: W drodze.

Huelle, Paweł (1991) *Who Was David Weiser?*, trans. by Antonia Lloyd-Jones, London: Bloomsbury.[29]
Huelle, Paweł (1987) *Weiser Dawidek*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie.
Huelle, Paweł (1992) *Weiser Dawidek* [revised edition], London: Puls Publications.
Huelle, Paweł (1997) *Weiser Dawidek* [revised edition], Warszawa: Świat Książki.

Huelle, Paweł (1992) *Who Was David Weiser?*, trans. by Michael Kandel, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.[30] RETRANSLATION
Huelle, Paweł (1987) *Weiser Dawidek*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie.
Huelle, Paweł (1992) *Weiser Dawidek* [revised edition], London: Puls Publications.
Huelle, Paweł (1997) *Weiser Dawidek* [revised edition], Warszawa: Świat Książki.

[29] Antonia Lloyd-Jones's translation is based on the 1987 edition of *Weiser Dawidek*.
[30] Michael Kandel's retranslation is based on the 1987 edition of *Weiser Dawidek* and Antonia Lloyd-Jones's translation.

Krall, Hanna (1992) *The Subtenant*; *To Outwit God*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press. *The Subtenant* trans. by Jarosław Anders.
Krall, Hanna (1985) *Sublokatorka*, Paryż: Libella.
Krall, Hanna (1985) *Sublokatorka*, Kraków: Oficyna Literacka.
Krall, Hanna (1989) *Sublokatorka*, Warszawa: Iskry.

Historical novels

Konwicki, Tadeusz (1990) *Bohin Manor*, trans. by Richard Lourie, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux.
Konwicki, Tadeusz (1987) *Bohiń*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Szewc, Piotr (1993) *Annihilation: A Novel*, trans. by Ewa Hryniewicz-Yarbrough, Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press.[31]
Szewc, Piotr (1987) *Zagłada*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.
Szewc, Piotr (1993) *Zagłada*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie [new, altered edition].
Szewc, Piotr (2003) *Zagłada*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie [new, altered edition].

Science-fiction and fantasy

Jędrkiewicz, Edwin (1993) *The Puppets of Master Damian: A Novel*, trans. by Margaret N. Watson, London: Ergon Press.
Jędrkiewicz, Edwin (1966) *Kukły mistrza Damiana*, Katowice, Śląsk.

Lem, Stanisław (1992) *Peace on Earth*, trans. by Elinor Ford, San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Lem, Stanisław (1987) *Pokój na Ziemi*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Children's stories

Bahdaj, Adam (1997) *Pilot i ja = The Pilot and Me*, trans. by Donata Mathews, ill. by Aneta Krella-Moch, Łódź: Literatura. Parallel Polish and English texts.
Bahdaj, Adam (1967) *Pilot i ja*, Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.

Other subjects

Gombrowicz, Witold (1994) *Trans-Atlantyk*, trans. by Carolyn French and Nina Karsov, New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1953) *Trans-Atlantyk*; *Ślub*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1957) *Trans-Atlantyk*; *Ślub*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

[31] Ewa Hryniewicz-Yarbrough's translation is based on the 1993 edition of *Zagłada*.

Hłasko, **Marek** (1990) *Killing the Second Dog*, trans. by Tomasz Mirkowicz, New York, NY: Cane Hill Press.
Hłasko, **Marek** (1965) *Drugie zabicie psa*, *Kultura [Paris]*, 1-2: 68-155.
Hłasko, **Marek** (1981) *Drugie zabicie psa*, Kraków: ABC.
Hłasko, Marek (1985) *Drugie zabicie psa* [in:] *Utwory wybrane*, Vol. 3, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Hłasko, **Marek** (1991) *All Backs Were Turned*, trans. by Tomasz Mirkowicz, New York, NY: Cane Hill Press.
Hłasko, **Marek** (1964) *Wszyscy byli odwróceni*; *Brudne czyny*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Hłasko, **Marek** (1981) *Wszyscy byli odwróceni*, Kraków: ABC, and Kraków: KOS.
Hłasko, Marek (1985) *Wszyscy byli odwróceni* [in:] *Utwory wybrane*, Vol. 3, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Myśliwski, Wiesław (1991) *The Palace*, trans. by Ursula Phillips, London, Chester Springs, PA: P. Owen.
Myśliwski, Wiesław (1970) *Pałac*, Warszawa: PIW.

Pankowski, Marian (1996) *Rudolf*, trans. by John and Elizabeth Maslen, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
Pankowski, Marian (1980) *Rudolf*, Londyn: Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy.
Pankowski, Marian (1984) *Rudolf*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Szczypiorski, Andrzej (1997) *The Shadow Catcher*, trans. by Bill Johnston, New York, NY: Grove Press.
Szczypiorski, Andrzej (1976) *Złowić cień*, Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.

Anthologies

Brosnan, Edel (ed.) (1994) *The SF Collection*, London: Chancellor Press. Contains a story by **Stanisław Lem** ("How the World Was Saved," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Jak ocalał świat").

Gunn, James (ed.) (1998) *The Road to Science Fiction*, Vol. 6: *Around the World*, Clarkston, CA: White Wolf. Contains a story by **Stanisław Lem** ("The Hunt," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Polowanie").

Haining, Peter (ed.) (1997) *The Flying Sorcerers: More Comic Tales of Fantasy*, London: Orbit and London: Souvenir Press. Contains a story by **Stanisław Lem** ("A Good Shellacking," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Wielkie lanie").

Halikowska, Teresa, George Hyde (eds) (1996) *The Eagle and the Crow: Modern Polish Short Stories*, London, New York: Serpent's Tail. Among other texts, contains short stories by: **Tadeusz Borowski** ("This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentelmen," trans. by Barbara Vedder, orig. "Proszę państwa do gazu"), **Marek Hłasko** ("Searching for the Stars," trans. by Wiesiek Powaga, orig. "Szukając gwiazd"), **Sławomir Mrożek** ("The Elephant," orig. "Słoń" and "Spring in Poland," orig. "Wiosna w Polsce," both trans. by Konrad Syrop), **Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz** ("Fame," trans. by George Hyde, orig. "Fama"), **Stanisław Lem** ("The Use of a Dragon," trans. by Wiesiek Powaga, orig. "Pożytek ze smoka"), **Leszek Kołakowski** ("Cain, or an Interpretation of the Rule: To Each According to His Deserts," orig. "Kain czyli Interpretacja zasady: każdemu wedle zasług;" "Sarah, or the Conflict between the General and the Individual in Morality," orig. "Sara czyli Konflikt ogólnego i jednostkowego w moralności" and "God, or Relative Mercy," orig. "Bóg czyli Względność miłosierdzia," all trans. by Nicholas Bethell), **Janusz Anderman** ("Poland Still?," trans. by Nina Taylor, orig. "Jeszcze Polska?"), **Ida Fink** ("In Front of the Mirror," trans. by Madeline G. Levine, orig. "Przed lustrem").

Kostrzewa, Robert (ed.) (1990) *Between East and West: Writings from Kultura*, New York, NY: Hill and Wang. Among others, contains texts by: **Bohdan Korzeniewski** ("The Knoll," trans. by Jadwiga Kosicka, orig. "Pagórek"), **Włodzimierz Odojewski** ("The Journey," trans. by Maya Latynski, orig. "Podróż," the third chapter of *Zasypie wszystko, zawieje…*), **Sławomir Mrożek** ("The Nose," trans. by Jadwiga Kosicka, orig. "Nos"), **Marek Nowakowski** ("The Conversation," trans. by Maya Latynski, orig. "Rozmowa"), **Gustaw Herling-Grudziński** ("San Dragone," trans. by Maya Latynski, orig. "Święty Smok").

Langer, Lawrence L. (ed.) (1995) *Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology*, New York, NY: Grosset and Dunlap. Among other texts, contains short stories by: **Ida Fink** ("The Key Game," orig. "Zabawa w klucz" and "A Spring Morning," orig, "Wiosenny poranek," both trans. by Madeline G. Levine), **Sara Nomberg-Przytyk** ("The Verdict" and "Friendly Meetings," trans. by Roslyn Hirsch from an unpublished Polish manuscript), **Tadeusz Borowski** ("This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentelmen," trans. by Barbara Vedder, orig. "Proszę państwa do gazu") and **Adolf Rudnicki** ("The Crystal Streem," trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, orig. "Czysty nurt").

Lipiński, Mirosław (ed.) (1997) *Treasury of Classic Polish Love Short Stories: In Polish and English*, trans. by Mirosław Lipiński, New York, NY: Hippocrene Books. Among other texts, contains short stories by **Stanisław Dygat** ("First Love," orig. "Pierwsza miłość") and **Halina Poświatowska** (untitled).

March, Michael (ed.) (1994) *Description of a Struggle: The Vintage Book of Contemporary Eastern European Writing*, New York, NY: Vintage. Among other texts, contains an excerpt from a novel by **Piotr Szewc** ("Annihilation," trans. by Jarosław Anders, an excerpt from *Zagłada*).

Powaga, Wiesiek (ed.) (1996) *The Dedalus Book of Polish Fantasy*, trans. by Wiesiek Powaga, Sawtry: Dedalus, and New York, NY: Hippocrene Books. Among other texts,

contains short stories by **Sławomir Mrożek** ("Co-existence," orig. "Koegzystencja"), **Andrzej Szczypiorski** ("The Lady with the Medallion," orig. "Dama z medalionem), **Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz** ("Mother Joanna of the Angels," an excerpt from "Matka Joanna od Aniołów"), **Wiktor Woroszylski** ("The White Worms," orig. "Białe robaki") and **Andrzej Bursa** ("Dragon," orig. "Smok").

Segel, Harold Bernard (ed.) (1996) *Stranger in Our Midst: Images of the Jew in Polish Literature*, Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press. Among other texts, contains post-war short stories or excerpts from novels by: **Jerzy Andrzejewski** (excerpts from *Holy Week*, trans. by Harold Bernard Segel, orig. *Wielki tydzień*), **Tadeusz Borowski** ("The Man with the Package," trans. by Harold Bernard Segel, orig. "Człowiek z paczką"), **Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz** ("The Mendelssohn Quartet," trans. by Harold Bernard Segel, orig. "Kwartet Mendelssohna"), **Tadeusz Różewicz** ("The Branch," trans. by Harold Bernard Segel, orig. "Gałąź"), **Andrzej Szczypiorski** (excerpts from *The Beautiful Mrs. Seidenman*, trans. by Klara Główczewska, orig. *Początek*), **Jarosław Marek Rymkiewicz** (excerpts from *The Final Station: Umschlagplatz*, trans. by Nina Taylor, orig. *Umschlagplatz*) and **Tadeusz Konwicki** (an excerpt from *Moonrise, Moonset*, trans. by Richard Lourie, orig. *Wschody i zachody księżyca*).

Zipes, Jack (ed.) (1991) *Spells of Enchantment: The Wondrous Fairy Tales of Western Culture*, New York, NY: Viking. Contains a story by **Stanisław Lem** ("Prince Ferrix and the Princess Crystal," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "O królewiczu Ferrycym i królewnie Krystali").

2000s

The Second World War

Andrzejewski, Jerzy (2007) *Holy Week: A Novel of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, trans. by Daniel M. Pennell, Anna M. Poukish, Matthew J. Russin, Oskar E. Swan, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
Andrzejewski, Jerzy (1945) *Wielki Tydzień* [in:] *Noc: opowiadania*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Nałkowska, **Zofia** (2000) *Medallions*, trans. by Diana Kuprel, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
Nałkowska, **Zofia** (1946) *Medaliony*, [s.l.]: Czytelnik.

Politics in post-war Poland

NONE

Everyday life in post-war Poland

NONE

Historical novels

NONE

Science-fiction and fantasy

NONE

Children's stories

NONE

Other subjects

Bacewicz, Grażyna (2004) *A Distinguishing Mark,* trans. by Anna Clarke and Andrew Cienski, Orleans, ON: Krzyś Chmiel.
Bacewicz, Grażyna (1970) *Znak szczególny*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Bursa, Andrzej (2009) *Killing Auntie and Other Work,* trans. by Wiesiek Powaga, London: CB Editions. Among other texts contains: "The Dragon," orig. "Smok;" "Freemason," orig. "Mason;" "Summons," orig. "Wezwanie;" "Killing Auntie," orig. "Zabicie ciotki."
Bursa, Andrzej (1969) *Utwory wierszem i prozą*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Ficowski, Jerzy (2006) *Waiting for the Dog to Sleep*, trans. by Soren A. Gauger and Marcin Piekoszewski, Prague: Twisted Spoon Press.
Ficowski, Jerzy (1970) *Czekanie na sen psa*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Mostwin, Danuta (2005) *Testaments: Two Novellas of Emigration and Exile*, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. Contains two stories: "The Last Will of Blaise Twardowski," trans. by Marta Erdman and "Jocasta," trans. by Nina Dyke.
Mostwin, Danuta (1965) *Asteroidy: opowiadania*, Londyn: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna. Contains the story "Testament Błażeja."
Mostwin, Danuta (1992) *Odkrywanie Ameryki: opowiadania*, Lublin: Norbertinum. Contains the story "Jokasta."

Poświatowska, Halina (2006) *Story for a Friend*, trans. by Maya Peretz, Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.
Poświatowska, Halina (1967) *Opowieść dla przyjaciela*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Gombrowicz, Witold (2005) *Cosmos*, trans. by Danuta Borchardt, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, and New York, NY: Grove Press. RETRANSLATION
Gombrowicz, Witold (1965) *Kosmos*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1980) *Kosmos*, Warszawa: Klin.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1986) *Kosmos*, w: *Dzieła*, Vol. 5, Kraków, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Gombrowicz, Witold (2009) *Pornografia*, trans. by Danuta Borchardt, New York, NY: Grove Press. RETRANSLATION
Gombrowicz, Witold (1960) *Pornografia*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1980) *Pornografia*, Pułtusk: Oficyna Narodowa.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1986) *Pornografia*, w: *Dzieła*, Vol. 4, Kraków, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Anthologies

Mikoś, Michael J. (2008) (ed.) *Polish Literature from 1918 to 2000: An Anthology*, selected and trans. by Michael J. Mikoś,[32] Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers. Among other texts, contains short stories by: **Jan Parandowski** ("April Meditations," orig. "Rozmyślania kwietniowe"), **Jerzy Szaniawski** ("On Fruitless Labor," an excerpt from *Profesor Tutka*), **Ksawery Pruszyński** ("A Trumpeter from Samarkand," orig. "Trębacz z Samarkandy"), **Józef Mackiewicz** ("No Need to Talk Loudly," an excerpt from *Nie trzeba głośno mówić*), **Julian Stryjkowski** ("The Great Fear," Chapter V of *Wielki Strach*), **Jerzy Andrzejewski** ("La Varsovienne," orig. "Warszawianka"), **Włodzimierz Odojewski** ("Everything Will Be Buried In, Covered Up…," an excerpt from *Zasypie wszystko, zawieje…*), **Stanisław Lem** ("The Solarists," an excerpt from *Solaris*), **Sławomir Mrożek** ("On a Journey," orig. "W podróży"), **Wiesław Myśliwski** ("Bread," excerpts from Charter VIII of *Kamień na kamieniu*), **Marek Hłasko** ("Straight Edge Cut or Everything Has Changed," orig. "Kancik czyli wszystko się zmieniło") and **Marek Nowakowski** ("Bonjour," orig. "Bonjour").

[32] Michał Jacek Mikoś is the Polish variant of the translator's name.

Morrow, James, Kathryn Morrow (eds) (2008) *The SFWA European Hall of Fame: Sixteen Contemporary Masterpieces of Science Fiction from the Continent*, New York, NY: Tor Books. Among others, contains a story by **Marek Huberath** ("Yoo Retoont, Sneogg. Ay Noo," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Wrocieeś Sneogg, wiedziaam…").

Polonsky, Antony, and Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska (2001) (eds) *Contemporary Jewish Writing in Poland*: *An Anthology*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. Among other texts, contains short stories and excerpts from novels by: **Julian Stryjkowski** ("Voices in the Darkness," trans. by Christopher Garbowski, excerpts from *Głosy w ciemności*), **Stanisław Wygodzki** ("Blessed Be the Hands…," trans. by Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska, orig. "Błogosławione niech będą ręce…"), **Adolf Rudnicki** ("Ascension," trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, translation revised by Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska, orig. "Wniebowstąpienie"), **Artur Sandauer** ("Death of a Liberal," trans. by Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska, "Śmierć liberała"), **Zofia Grzesiak** ("Marriage," trans. by Christopher Garbowski, orig. "Stan małżeński"), **Leo Lipski** ("Roe Deer's Brother," orig. "Sarni braciszek" and "Wadi," orig. "Wadi," trans. by Christopher Garbowski), **Ida Fink** ("A Scrap of Time," orig. "Skrawek czasu;" "*****," orig. "*****;" "A Dog," orig. "Pies;" "Night of Surrender," orig. "Noc kapitulacji;" "The Tenth Man," orig. "Dziesiąty mężczyzna" and "Traces," orig. "Ślad," all trans. by Madeline G. Levine and Francine Prose), **Stanisław Benski** ("A Strange Country," orig. "Dziwny kraj i dziwni ludzie" and "Missing Pieces," orig. "Ta najważniejsza cząsteczka," both trans. by Walter Arndt), **Bogdan Wojdowski** ("Bread for the Departed," trans. by Madeline G. Levine, an excerpt from *Bread for the Departed* and "A Little Person, a Songless Bird, a Cage," trans. by Christopher Garbowski, orig. "Mały człowieczek, nieme ptaszę, klatka i świat") and **Antoni Słonimski** ("How It Really Happened," trans. by Gwido Zlatkes, an excerpt from "Jak to było naprawdę").

2010s

The Second World War

NONE

Politics in post-war Poland

NONE

Everyday life in post-war Poland

Myśliwski, **Wiesław** (2010) *Stone Upon Stone*, trans. by Bill Johnston, Brooklyn, NY: Archipelago Books.
Myśliwski, **Wiesław** (1984) *Kamień na kamieniu*, Warszawa: PIW.

Historical novels

Dobraczyński, Jan (2011) *The Shadow of the Father*, trans. and abridged by Adam Jacek Morek, Savage, MN: Lighthouse Christian Publishing.
Dobraczyński, Jan (1977) *Cień ojca*, Warszawa: Pax.

Science-fiction and fantasy

Lem, Stanisław (2011) *Solaris*, trans. by Bill Johnston, Newark, NJ: Premier Digital Publishing, Kindle Edition. RETRANSLATION
Lem, Stanisław (1961) *Solaris*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo MON.

Lem, Stanisław (2014) *The Invincible*, trans. by Bill Johnston, Kraków: Pro Auctore Wojciech Zemek, Kindle Edition. RETRANSLATION
Lem, Stanisław (1964) *Niezwyciężony i inne opowiadania*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo MON.

Children's stories

NONE

Other subjects

Gombrowicz, Witold (2014) *Trans-Atlantyk: An Alternate Translation*, trans. by Danuta Borchardt, New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press. RETRANSLATION
Gombrowicz, Witold (1953) *Trans-Atlantyk*; *Ślub*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Gombrowicz, Witold (1957) *Trans-Atlantyk*; *Ślub*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Anthologies

Evans, Arthur B. *et al.* (2010) *The Wesleyan Anthology of Science Fiction*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. Among other texts, contains "The Seventh Voyage" from the *Star Diaries* by **Stanisław Lem**, trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Podróż siódma."

Kandel, Michael (ed.) (2010) *A Polish Book of Monsters: Five Dark Tales from Contemporary Poland*, New York, NY: PIASA Books. Among others, contains a story by **Marek Huberath** ("Yoo Retoont, Sneogg. Ay Noo," trans. by Michael Kandel, orig. "Wrocieeś Sneogg, wiedziaam…").

Page, Ra and Magda Raczyńska (2011) *Lemistry: A Celebration of the Work of Stanisław Lem*, Manchester: Comma Press. Among other texts, contains short stories by **Stanisław Lem** ("Invasion from Aldebaran," orig. "Inwazja z Aldebarana" and "Darkness and Mildew," orig. "Ciemność i pleśń," both trans. by Antonia Lloyd-Jones).

Appendix 5

Books by a Single Author: Division According to the Subject and Place of Publication of the Polish Source Text

1945-1949	ABROAD / IN *SAMIZDAT* / OFFICIALLY IN POLAND AFTER THE ENGLISH VERSION	OFFICIALLY IN POLAND BEFORE THE ENGLISH VERSION	TOGETHER
The Second World War	2	-	2
Politics in post-war Poland	-	-	-
Everyday life in post-war Poland	-	-	-
Historical novels	-	1	1
Science fiction and fantasy	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-
Other subjects	1	-	1
1950s	ABROAD / IN *SAMIZDAT* / OFFICIALLY IN POLAND AFTER THE ENGLISH VERSION	OFFICIALLY IN POLAND BEFORE THE ENGLISH VERSION	TOGETHER
The Second World War	1	2,5[1]	3,5
Politics in post-war Poland	3[2]	1	4
Everyday life in post-war Poland	2[3]	1,5[4]	3,5
Historical novels	2	2	4
Science fiction and fantasy	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-
Other subjects	1	-	1

[1] The "half" (0.5) refers to Maria Dąbrowska's collection *A Village Wedding and Other Stories* (1957), which contains stories about both the Second World War and everyday life in post-war Poland.
[2] Although Andrzej Braun's *Piekło wybrukowane* was officially printed and serialised in the *Nowa Kultura* weekly, its book form edition was banned. Therefore, it is classified in this table together with books published abroad. Indeed, the English translation, *The Paving Stones of Hell* (1959), preceded the official Polish book edition by 25 years. See Appendix 4 (p. 305).
[3] Officially printed in the literary monthly *Twórczość* in 1956, Marek Hłasko's *Ósmy dzień tygodnia* could not appear in book form. Hence, it is classified in this table together with books published abroad. The first official Polish book edition of the narrative was published twenty-seven years after its English translation. See Appendix 4 (p. 305).
[4] See footnote 1 above.

1960s	ABROAD / IN *SAMIZDAT* / OFFICIALLY IN POLAND AFTER THE ENGLISH VERSION	OFFICIALLY IN POLAND BEFORE THE ENGLISH VERSION	TOGETHER
The Second World War	4[5]	4	8
Politics in post-war Poland	-	7	7
Everyday life in post-war Poland	1[6]	1	2
Historical novels	1	-	1
Science fiction and fantasy	-	1	1
Children's stories	-	4	4
Other subjects	3	2	5
1970s	ABROAD / IN *SAMIZDAT* / OFFICIALLY IN POLAND AFTER THE ENGLISH VERSION	OFFICIALLY IN POLAND BEFORE THE ENGLISH VERSION	TOGETHER
The Second World War	1	1	2
Politics in post-war Poland	1	-	1
Everyday life in post-war Poland	1	-	1
Historical novels	2	2	4
Science fiction and fantasy	-	10	10
Children's stories	-	3[7]	3
Other subjects	2	3.5[8]	5.5

[5] Although *Wyspa ocalenia* by Włodzimierz Odojewski was published in Poland in 1964, it could only appear in a censored version. The full, uncensored Polish version was serialised in instalments at the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973 in the New York-published *Nowy Dziennik*, after Odojewski's emigration from Poland. The first uncensored book edition in Polish was published in 1990, followed by its changed version in 2008. The unpublished manuscript of *Wyspa ocalenia* served as the basis for the English translation by David John Welsh. The translated book appeared in 1965, both in the UK (as *No Island of Salvation*) and in the USA (as *Island of Salvation*). See Appendix 4 (p.305).

[6] The book edition of Marek Hłasko's *Następny do raju*, originally serialised in a literary supplement to the Silesian weekly *Panorama* as *Głupcy wierzą w poranek*, was eventually banned but the writer managed to have the book published by Instytut Literacki in Paris.

[7] Two of the translations, Magda Leja's *The Boy from the Skyscraper* (1977) and Mieczysław Piotrowski's *The Grey Ear* (1979), also appeared in Poland, published by KAW (Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza) in Jerzy Brodzki's rendition.

[8] The half refers to one of the two component parts of Leszek Kołakowski's *The Devil and Scripture* (1973). Only his *Klucz niebieski…* (1964) was retranslated.

1980s	ABROAD / IN *SAMIZDAT* / OFFICIALLY IN POLAND AFTER THE ENGLISH VERSION	OFFICIALLY IN POLAND BEFORE THE ENGLISH VERSION	TOGETHER
The Second World War	3	2	5
Politics in post-war Poland	8	-	8
Everyday life in post-war Poland	-	-	-
Historical novels	1	3	4
Science fiction and fantasy	-	6.5[9]	6.5
Children's stories	-	10	10
Other subjects	3	0.5[10]	3.5
1990s	ABROAD / IN *SAMIZDAT* / OFFICIALLY IN POLAND AFTER THE ENGLISH VERSION	OFFICIALLY IN POLAND BEFORE THE ENGLISH VERSION	TOGETHER
The Second World War	1	2,5[11]	3,5
Politics in post-war Poland	-	1	1
Everyday life in post-war Poland	2	2,5[12; 13]	4,5
Historical novels	-	2	2
Science fiction and fantasy	-	2	2
Children's stories	-	1	1
Other subjects	4	2	6

[9] Only one of the two component parts of Stanisław Lem's book *Imaginary Magnitude* (1984), *Golem XIV*, can be classified as a science-fiction novel.

[10] Only one of the two books which comprised Leszek Kołakowski's *Tales from the Kingdom of Lailonia and The Key to Heaven* (1989) was a new translation.

[11] The "half" (0.5) refers to Stanisław Benski's collection *Missing Pieces: Stories* (1990), which contains stories about both the Second World War and everyday life in post-war Poland.

[12] See footnote 11 above.

[13] The first edition of Paweł Huelle's *Weiser Dawidek* (1987) appeared officially in Gdańsk, published by Wydawnictwo Morskie. Interestingly, the first revised Polish version was brought out in London by Puls Publications in 1992, already after the collapse of communism in Poland.

2000s	ABROAD / IN *SAMIZDAT* / OFFICIALLY IN POLAND AFTER THE ENGLISH VERSION	OFFICIALLY IN POLAND BEFORE THE ENGLISH VERSION	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	2	2
Politics in post-war Poland	-	-	-
Everyday life in post-war Poland	-	-	-
Historical novels	-	-	-
Science fiction and fantasy	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-
Other subjects	3	4	7
2010-2015	ABROAD / IN *SAMIZDAT* / OFFICIALLY IN POLAND AFTER THE ENGLISH VERSION	OFFICIALLY IN POLAND BEFORE THE ENGLISH VERSION	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	-
Politics in post-war Poland	-	-	-
Everyday life in post-war Poland	-	1	1
Historical novels	-	1	1
Science fiction and fantasy	-	2	2
Children's stories	-	-	-
Other subjects	1	-	1

Appendix 6

Books by a Single Author: Division According to the Subject and the Publisher of the First English Edition[1]

1945-1949	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	1	1	-	2
Politics in post-war Poland	-	-	-	-
Everyday life in post-war Poland	-	-	-	-
Historical novels	0.5[2]	0.5	-	1
Science fiction and fantasy	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other subjects	1	-	-	1
1950s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	1	1	1.5	3.5
Politics in post-war Poland	3	-	1	4
Everyday life in post-war Poland	3	-	0.5	3.5
Historical novels	3	1	-	4
Science fiction and fantasy	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other subjects	-	1	-	1

[1] Retranslations are counted separately.
[2] The "half" refers to books co-published by both the foreign and Polish publisher, whether based in Poland or abroad.

1960s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	7	-	1	8
Politics in post-war Poland	7	-	-	7
Everyday life in post-war Poland	2	-	-	2
Historical novels	1	-	-	1
Science fiction and fantasy	1	-	-	1
Children's stories	3.5	-	0.5	4
Other subjects	4	1	-	5
1970s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	2	-	-	2
Politics in post-war Poland	1	-	-	1
Everyday life in post-war Poland	1	-	-	1
Historical novels	2.5	1.5	-	4
Science fiction and fantasy	10	-	-	10
Children's stories	1	-	2	3
Other subjects	5.5	-	-	5.5
1980s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	5	-	-	5
Politics in post-war Poland	7	1	-	8
Everyday life in post-war Poland	-	-	-	-
Historical novels	2	1	1	4
Science fiction and fantasy	6.5	-	-	6.5
Children's stories	1	-	9	10
Other subjects	1.5	2	-	3.5

1990s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	3.5	-	-	3.5
Politics in post-war Poland	1	-	-	1
Everyday life in post-war Poland	4.5	-	-	4.5
Historical novels	2	-	-	2
Science fiction and fantasy	2	-	-	2
Children's stories	-	-	1	1
Other subjects	6	-	-	6
2000s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	2	-	-	2
Politics in post-war Poland	-	-	-	-
Everyday life in post-war Poland	-	-	-	-
Historical novels	-	-	-	-
Science fiction and fantasy	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other subjects	5	2	-	7
2010-2015	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	-	-
Politics in post-war Poland	-	-	-	-
Everyday life in post-war Poland	1	-	-	1
Historical novels	1	-	-	1
Science fiction and fantasy	1	-	1	2
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other subjects	1	-	-	1

Appendix 7

Anthologies: Division According to the Subject and Place of Publication of the First English-Language Edition

1945-1949	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	-	-
Politics	-	-	-	-
Science fiction and fantasy	-	-	-	-
Jewish theme	-	-	-	-
Love	-	-	-	-
Exiled writers	-	-	-	-
Home writers	-	-	-	-
Polish writers in general	2	-	-	2
Women writers	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-
1950s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	1	1
Politics	2	-	-	2
Science fiction and fantasy	-	-	-	-
Jewish theme	-	-	-	-
Love	-	-	-	-
Exiled writers	2	-	-	2
Home writers	-	-	-	-
Polish writers in general	1	-	-	1
Women writers	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-

1960s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	-	-
Politics	1	-	-	1
Science fiction and fantasy	-	-	-	-
Jewish theme	-	-	-	-
Love	-	-	-	-
Exiled writers	-	-	-	-
Home writers	2	-	1	3
Polish writers in general	1	-	-	1
Women writers	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other	2	-	-	2
1970s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	-	-
Politics	3	-	-	3
Science fiction and fantasy	2	-	-	2
Jewish theme	-	-	-	-
Love	-	-	-	-
Exiled writers	-	-	-	-
Home writers	-	-	-	-
Polish writers in general	-	-	1	1
Women writers	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	1	-	-	1
Other	1	-	-	1

1980s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	-	-
Politics	-	-	-	-
Science fiction and fantasy	8	-	-	8
Jewish theme	-	-	-	-
Love	-	-	-	-
Exiled writers	-	-	-	-
Home writers	-	-	-	-
Polish writers in general	-	-	-	-
Women writers	1	-	-	1
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-
1990s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	-	-
Politics	1	-	-	1
Science fiction and fantasy	4.5	0.5		5
Jewish theme	2	-	-	2
Love	-	1	-	1
Exiled writers	-	-	-	-
Home writers	-	-	-	-
Polish writers in general	1	-	-	1
Women writers	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other	1	-	-	1

2000s	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	-	-
Politics	-	-	-	-
Science fiction and fantasy	1	-	-	1
Jewish theme	1	-	-	1
Love	-	-	-	-
Exiled writers	-	-	-	-
Home writers	-	-	-	-
Polish writers in general	1	-	-	1
Women writers	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-
2010-2015	ABROAD BY A FOREIGN PUBLISHER	ABROAD BY A POLISH PUBLISHER	IN POLAND	TOGETHER
The Second World War	-	-	-	-
Politics	-	-	-	-
Science fiction and fantasy	2	1	-	3
Jewish theme	-	-	-	-
Love	-	-	-	-
Exiled writers	-	-	-	-
Home writers	-	-	-	-
Polish writers in general	-	-	-	-
Women writers	-	-	-	-
Children's stories	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-

Appendix 8

Bibliographical Data: Non-Fiction on the Second World War

Appendix 6 gives basic bibliographical information about non-fiction book publications concerning the subject of the Second World War, written by Polish authors. Details of the first book edition(s) of the English translations are given first, followed by the first book edition(s) of the Polish text (whenever existent, since in some cases the Polish original never appeared in print). If different editions of the English-language translation were published in the same year, all publishers are listed. Details of Polish-language reprints or re-editions are given in the case of works which had several debuts: abroad, in *samizdat* publishing and, finally, in official circulation, usually after 1989. Revised editions are also registered.

1945-1949

Anders, Władysław (1949) *An Army in Exile: The Story of the Second Polish Corps*, trans. anon., London: Macmillan.
Anders, Władysław (1949) *Bez ostatniego rozdziału: wspomnienia z lat 1939-1946*, Newtown: Montgomeryshire Painting Company.
Anders, Władysław (1959) *Bez ostatniego rozdziału: wspomnienia z lat 1939-1946* [new expanded edition], London: Gryf Publishers.
Anders, Władysław (1983) *Bez ostatniego rozdziału: wspomnienia z lat 1939-1946*, Kraków: Biblioteka Historyczna and Warszawa: [s.n.].
Anders, Władysław (1992) *Bez ostatniego rozdziału: wspomnienia z lat 1939-1946*, Lublin: Test.

Berg, Mary (1945) *Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary*, trans. from the Polish manuscript by Norbert Guterman with Sylvia Glass, New York, NY: Fischer.
Berg, Mary (1983) *Dziennik z getta warszawskiego*, trans. from the English print version by Maria Salapska, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Szmaglewska, Seweryna (1947) *Smoke Over Birkenau*, trans. by Jadwiga Rynas, New York, NY: H. Holt.
Szmaglewska, Seweryna (1945) *Dymy nad Birkenau*, [s.l.]: Czytelnik.

Święcicki, Marek (1945) *With the Red Devils at Arnhem*, trans. by Henry Charles Stevens, London: Max Love and Forrest Hill, NY: Transatlantic Arts.
Święcicki, Marek (1945) *"Czerwone diabły" pod Arnhem*, Rzym: Oddział Kultury i Prasy 2 Korpusu.

Święcicki, Marek (1946) *Seven Rivers to Bologna*, trans. anon., London: J. Rolls.
Święcicki, Marek (1945) *Za siedmioma rzekami była Bolonia: ostatnia bitwa Drugiego Korpusu we Włoszech*, Rzym: Oddział Kultury i Prasy 2 Korpusu.

1950s

Czapski, Józef (1951) *The Inhuman Land*, trans. from the French by Gerard Hopkins, London: Chatto & Windus.
Czapski, Józef (1949) *Na nieludzkiej ziemi*, Paryż: Instytut Literacki.
Czapski, Józef (1981) *Na nieludzkiej ziemi*, [Szczecin]: Suplement.
Czapski, Józef (1990) *Na nieludzkiej ziemi*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1951) *A World Apart: A Memoir of the Gulag*, trans. by Joseph Marek [real name: Andrzej Ciołkosz], London, Melbourne, Toronto: Heinemann; New York, NY: Roy Publishers, and New York, NY: New American Library.
Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1953) *Inny świat: zapiski sowieckie*, London: Gryf Publications.
Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1980) *Inny świat: zapiski sowieckie*, Warszawa: NOWa.
Herling-Grudziński, Gustaw (1989) *Inny świat: zapiski sowieckie*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Rudnicki, Adolf (ed.) (1955) *Lest We Forget*, trans. anon., Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House. Besides fictional narratives, contains many non-fiction sources.
Rudnicki, Adolf (ed.) (1955) *Wieczna pamięć*, Warszawa: Polonia Publishing House.

Szmaglewska, Seweryna (1955) *United in Wrath*, trans. anon., Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House.
Szmaglewska, Seweryna (1955) *Łączy nas gniew*, Warszawa: Polonia Publishing House.

Zagórski, Wacław (1957) *Seventy Days*, trans. by David John Welsh, London: F. Muller.
Zagórski, Wacław (1957) *Wicher wolności*, London: nakładem czytelników przedpłacicieli.
Zagórski, Wacław (1989) *Wicher wolności*, Warszawa: Przedświt.
Zagórski, Wacław (1990) *Wicher wolności: dziennik powstańca*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Żywulska, Krystyna (1951) *I Came Back*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, London: Dobson and New York, NY: Roy Publishers.
Żywulska, Krystyna (2004) *I Survived Auschwitz*, trans. by Krystyna Cękalska, Warszawa: tCHu; Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau.
Żywulska, Krystyna (1946) *Przeżyłam Oświęcim*, Warszawa: Wiedza.

1960s

Lewińska, Pelagia (1968) *Twenty Months at Auschwitz*, trans. by Albert Teichner, New York, NY: L. Stuart.
Lewińska, Pelagia (1945) *Oświęcim: pogarda i triumf człowieka (rzeczy przeżyte)*, Paryż: Wydawnictwo Rady Narodowej Polaków we Francji.

1970s

Białoszewski, Miron (1977) *A Memoir of the Warsaw Uprising*, trans. by Madeline G. Levine, Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis.
Białoszewski, Miron (1970) *Pamiętnik z powstania warszawskiego*, Warszawa: PIW.

Birenbaum, Halina (1971) *Hope Is the Last to Die: A Personal Documentation of Nazi Terror*, trans. by David John Welsh, New York: Twayne.
Birenbaum, Halina (1967) *Nadzieja umiera ostatnia*, Warszawa: Czytelnik.

Bogusławska, Anna (1975) *Food for the Children: A Diary of the Warsaw Rising – Summer 1944*, trans. by Ewa Barker, London: Cooper.
Bogusławska, Anna (1947) *Ludzie walczącej Warszawy*, Zachodnie Niemcy: [s.n.], and Utica, NY: Gryf.

Czerniaków, Adam (1979) *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniaków: Prelude to Doom*, trans. by Stanislaw Staron (the Polish text), Raul Hilberg (the German text), and the staff of Yad Vashem, New York, NY: Stein & Day.
Czerniaków, Adam (1972) „Adama Czerniakowa dziennik getta warszawskiego 6 IX 1939 – 23 VII 1942", *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 83; 84.
Czerniaków, Adam (1983) *Adama Czerniakowa dziennik getta warszawskiego 6 IX 1939 – 23 VII 1942*, Warszawa: PIW.

Zeew, Edary (1976) *Nurses and Soldiers*, trans. by Mendel Kohansky, Tel-Aviv: EKED.
Zeew, Edary (unpublished Polish manuscript) *Siostry i żołnierze*.

Ziemian, Joseph (1970) *The Cigarette Sellers of Three Crosses Square*, trans. by Janina David, London: Mitchell.
Ziemian, Józef (1986) *Papierosiarze z placu Trzech Krzyży*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Solidarność Walcząca.
Ziemian, Józef (1995) *Papierosiarze z placu Trzech Krzyży*, Łódź: Oficyna Bibliofilów.

1980s

Bukowinski, Władysław (1982) *A Priest in Russia: Excerpts from Memoirs of Władysław Bukowiński*, selected and trans. by Alexander Tomsky, London: Catholic Truth Society.
Bukowinski, Władysław (1979) *Wspomnienia z Kazachstanu*, Londyn: Spotkania, Paris: Spotkania.
Bukowinski, Władysław (1979) *Wspomnienia z Kazachstanu*, Lublin: Spotkania, Kraków: Wydawnictwo "Krzyża Nowohuckiego."
Bukowinski, Władysław (1989) *Wspomnienia z Kazachstanu*, Gdańsk: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Graf."

Kielar, **Wiesław** (1980) *Anus Mundi: 1,500 Days in Auschwitz/Birkenau* [American title], trans. from the German by Susanne Flatauer, New York: Times Books.
Kielar, **Wiesław** (1981) *Anus Mundi: Five Years in Auschwitz: A Personal Record* [British title], trans. from the German by Susanne Flatauer, London: Lane.
Kielar, **Wiesław** (1972) *Anus mundi: wspomnienia oświęcimskie*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Krall, Hanna (1986) *Shielding the Flame: An Intimate Conversation with Dr. Marek Edelman, the Last Surviving Leader of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, trans. by Joanna Stasińska and Lawrence Weschler, New York, NY: H. Holt.
In 1992 the translation was published by the Northwestern University Press, in a single volume with *The Subtenant*, under a changed title *To Outwit God*.
Krall, Hanna (1977) *Zdążyć przed Panem Bogiem*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Królikowski, Łucjan (1983) *Stolen Childhood: A Saga of Polish War Children*, trans. by Kazimierz J. Rożniatowski, Buffalo, NY: Father Justin Rosary Hour.
Królikowski, Łucjan (1960) *Skradzione dzieciństwo*, Londyn: Katolicki Ośrodek Wydawniczy "Veritas."
Królikowski, Łucjan (1987) *Skradzione dzieciństwo* [new edition], Buffalo, NY: Father Justin Rosary Hour.
Królikowski, Łucjan (1991) *Skradzione dzieciństwo*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy.

Laks, **Szymon** (1989) *Music of Another World*, trans. by Chester A. Kisiel, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
Laks, **Szymon** (1979) *Gry oświęcimskie*, Londyn: Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy.
Laks, **Szymon** (1998) *Gry oświęcimskie* [expanded edition], Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Oświęcim-Brzezinka.

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[1] John Fowler, "Poignant Diary of Nazi Occupation," *The Glasgow Herald*, 28th November 1981, 8. Accessed 20th November 2013:
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6643 Siedlecki, Janusz Nel, **75817 Krystyn Olszewski**, **119198 Tadeusz Borowski** (2000) *We Were in Auschwitz*, trans. by Alicia Nitecki, New York, NY: Welcome Rain Publishers.
6643 Siedlecki, Janusz Nel, **75817 Krystyn Olszewski**, **119198 Tadeusz Borowski** (1946) *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu*, Monachium: Oficyna Warszawska na Obczyźnie.

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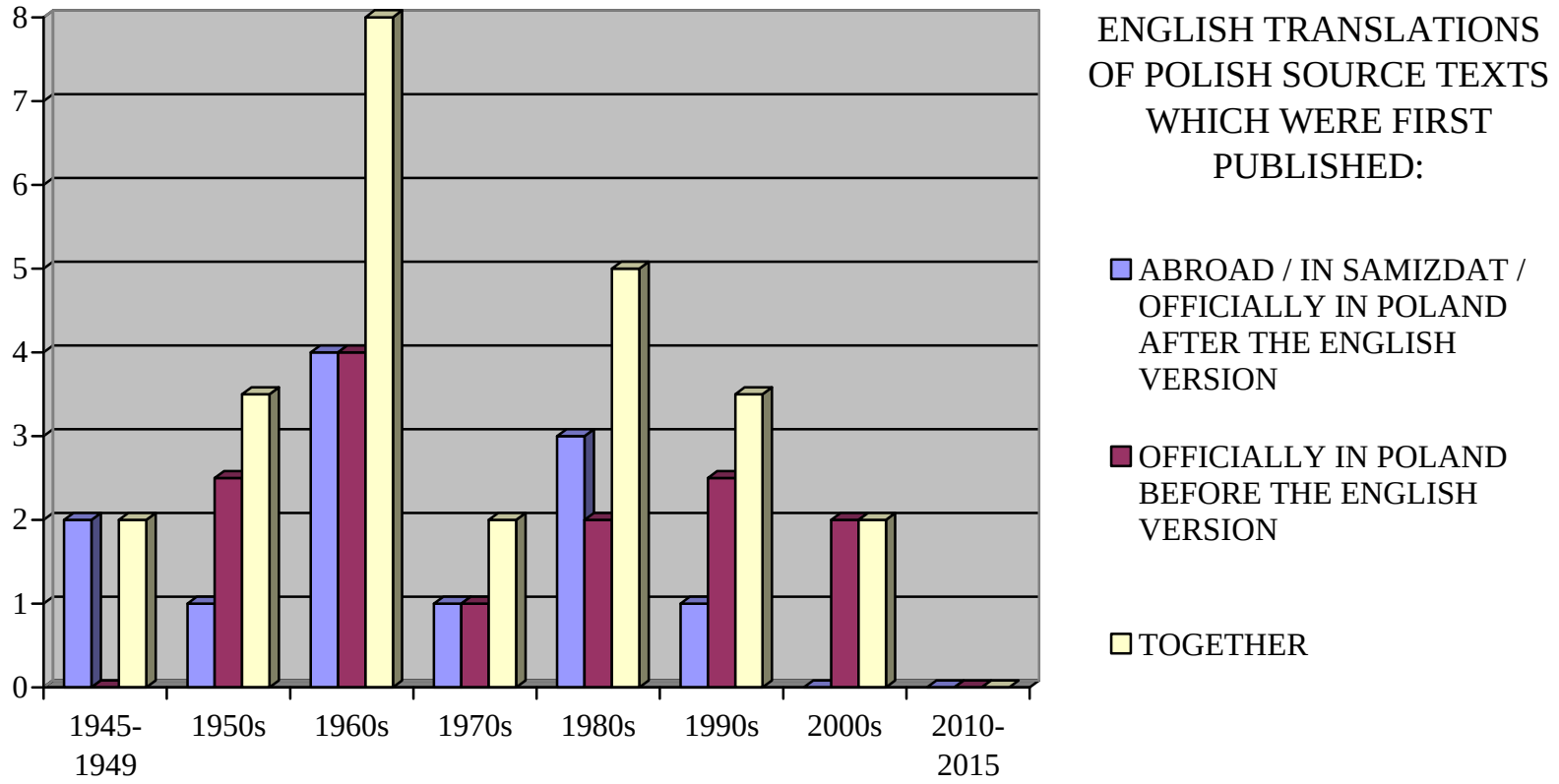


Chart 1: English translations of Polish novels and short stories about **the Second World War**. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the place of publication of the Polish source text.

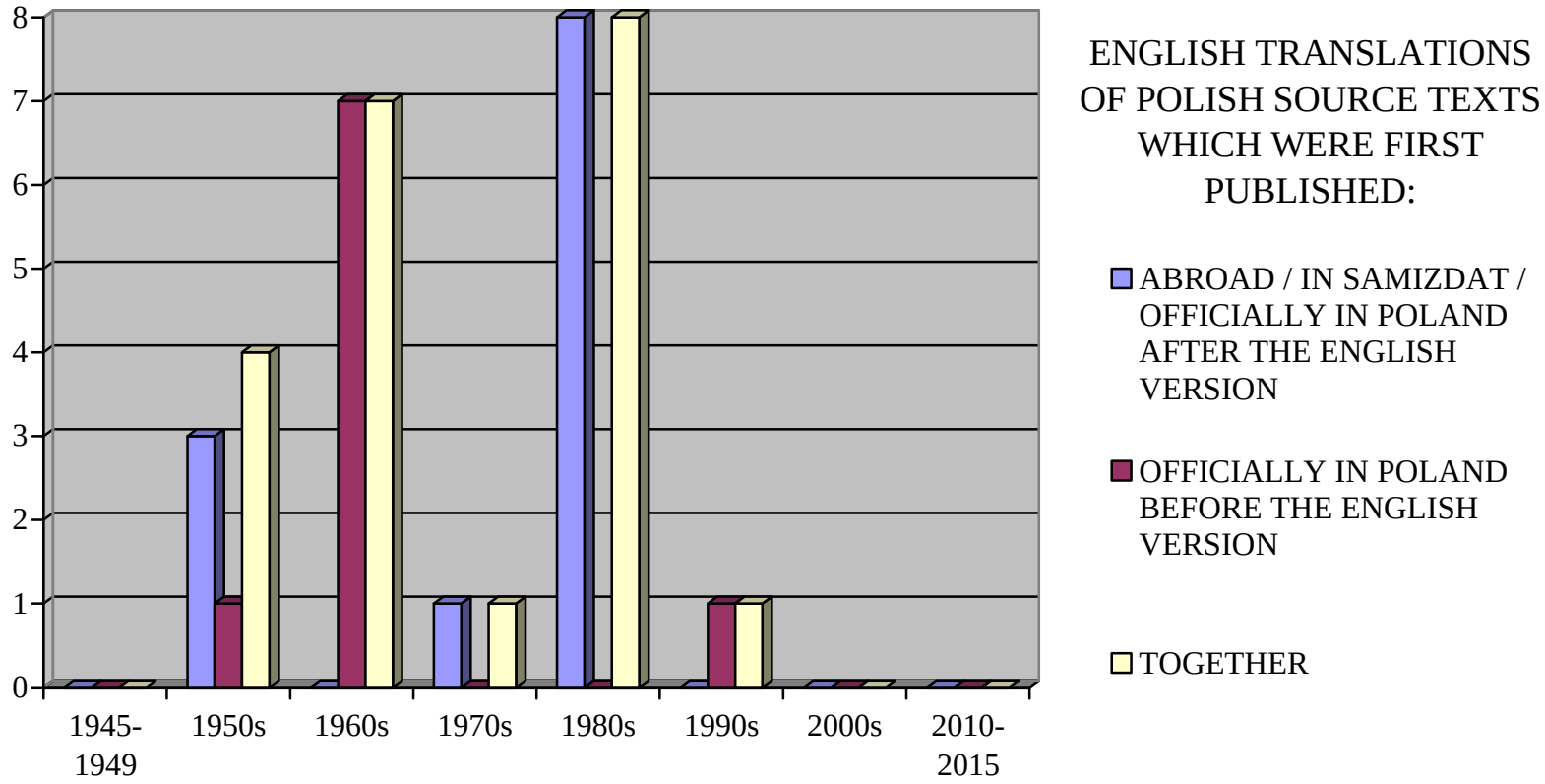


Chart 2: English translations of Polish novels and short stories about **politics in post-war Poland**. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the place of publication of the Polish source text.

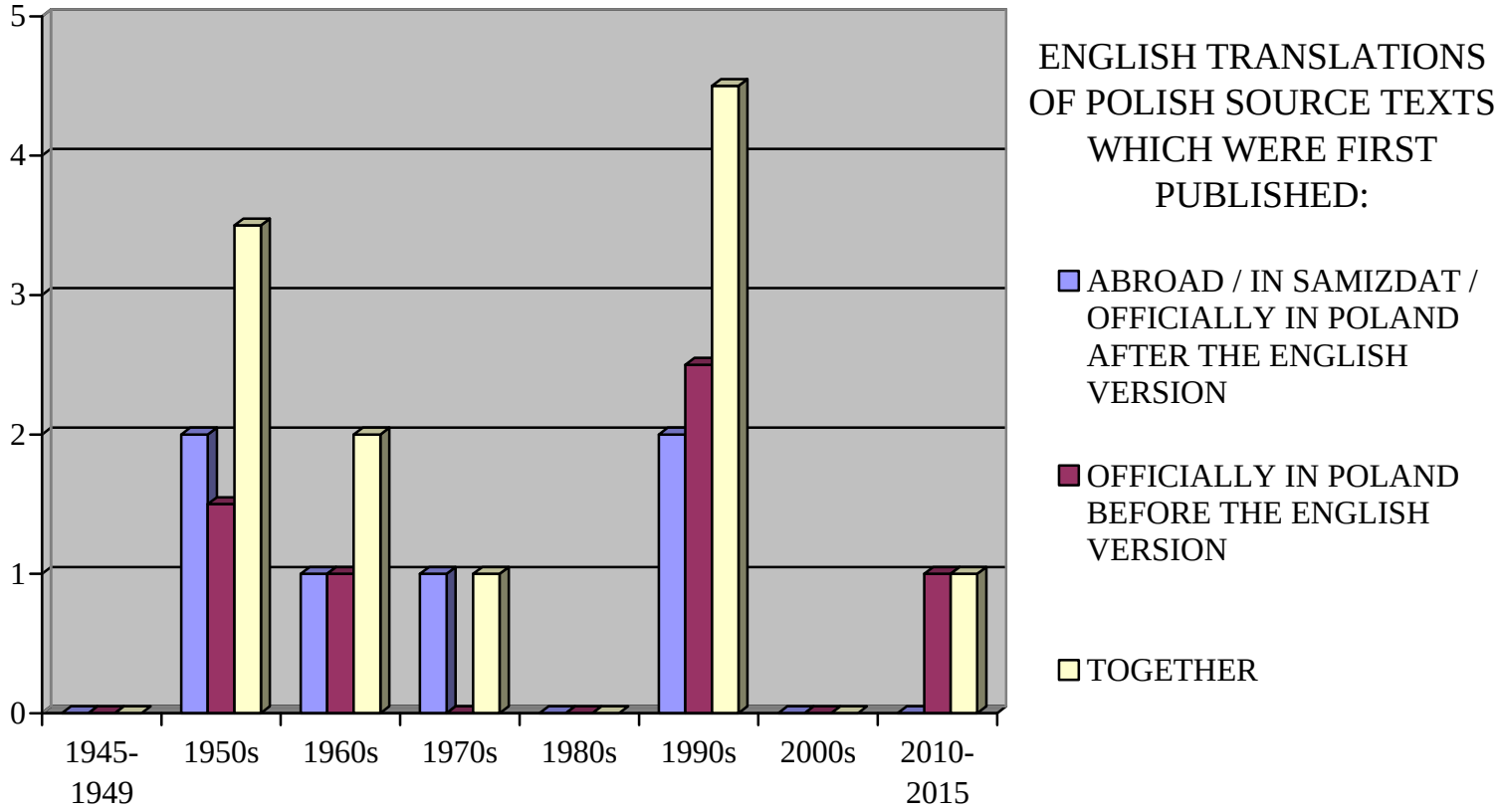


Chart 3: English translations of Polish novels and short stories about **everyday life in post-war Poland**. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the place of publication of the Polish source text.

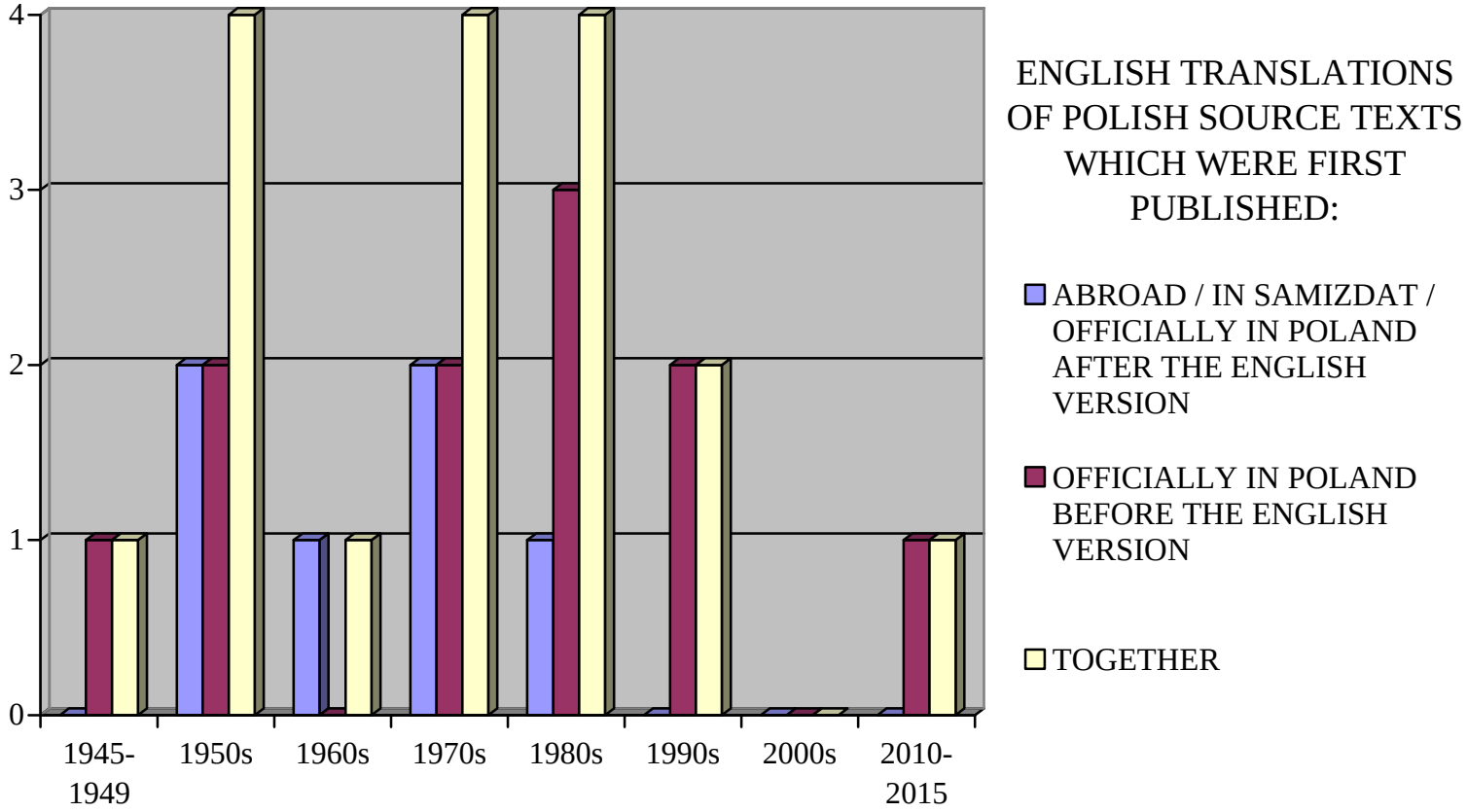


Chart 4: English translations of Polish **historical** novels and short stories. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the place of publication of the Polish source text.

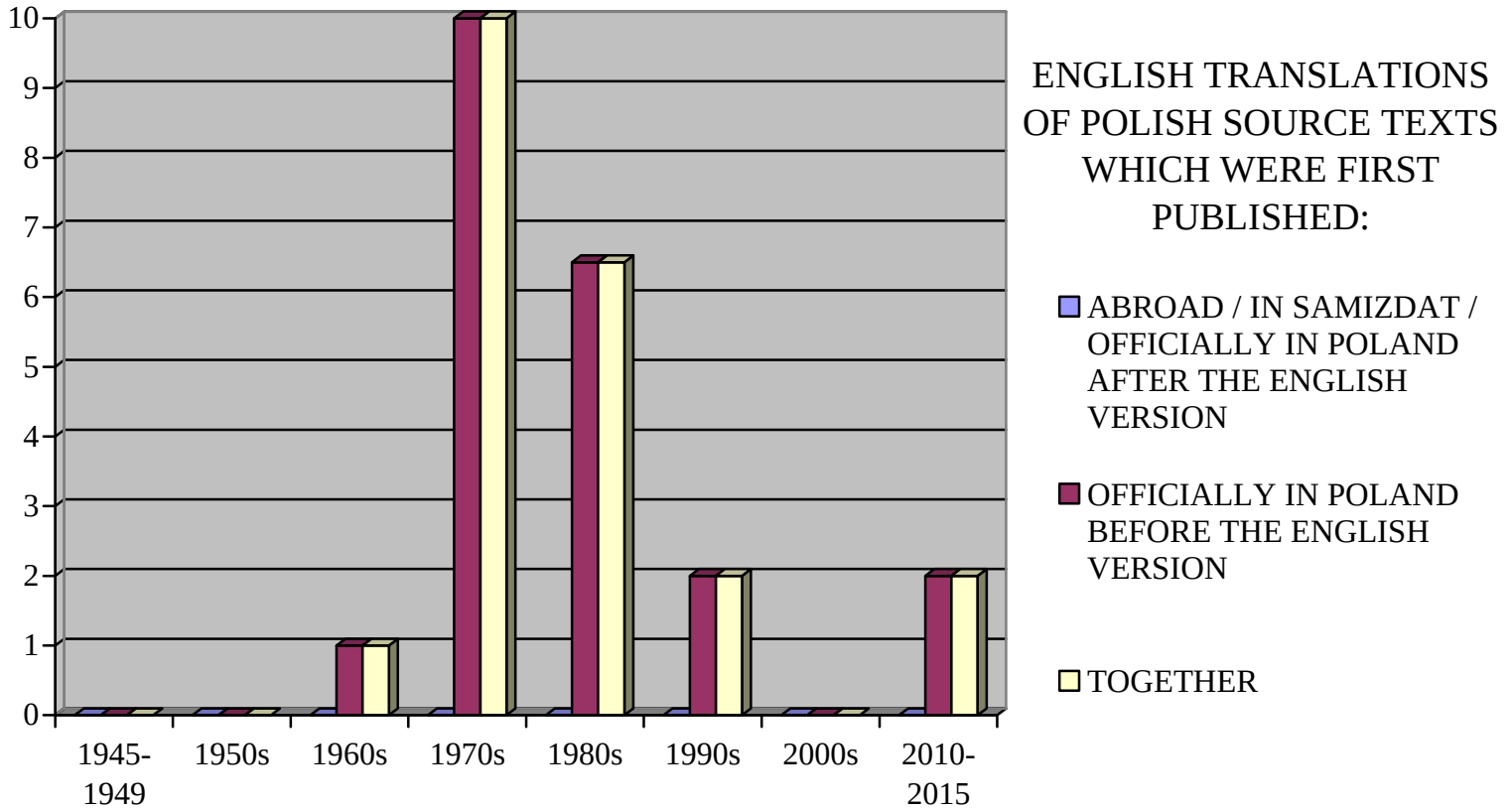


Chart 5: English translations of Polish **science fiction and fantasy** novels and short stories. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the place of publication of the Polish source text.

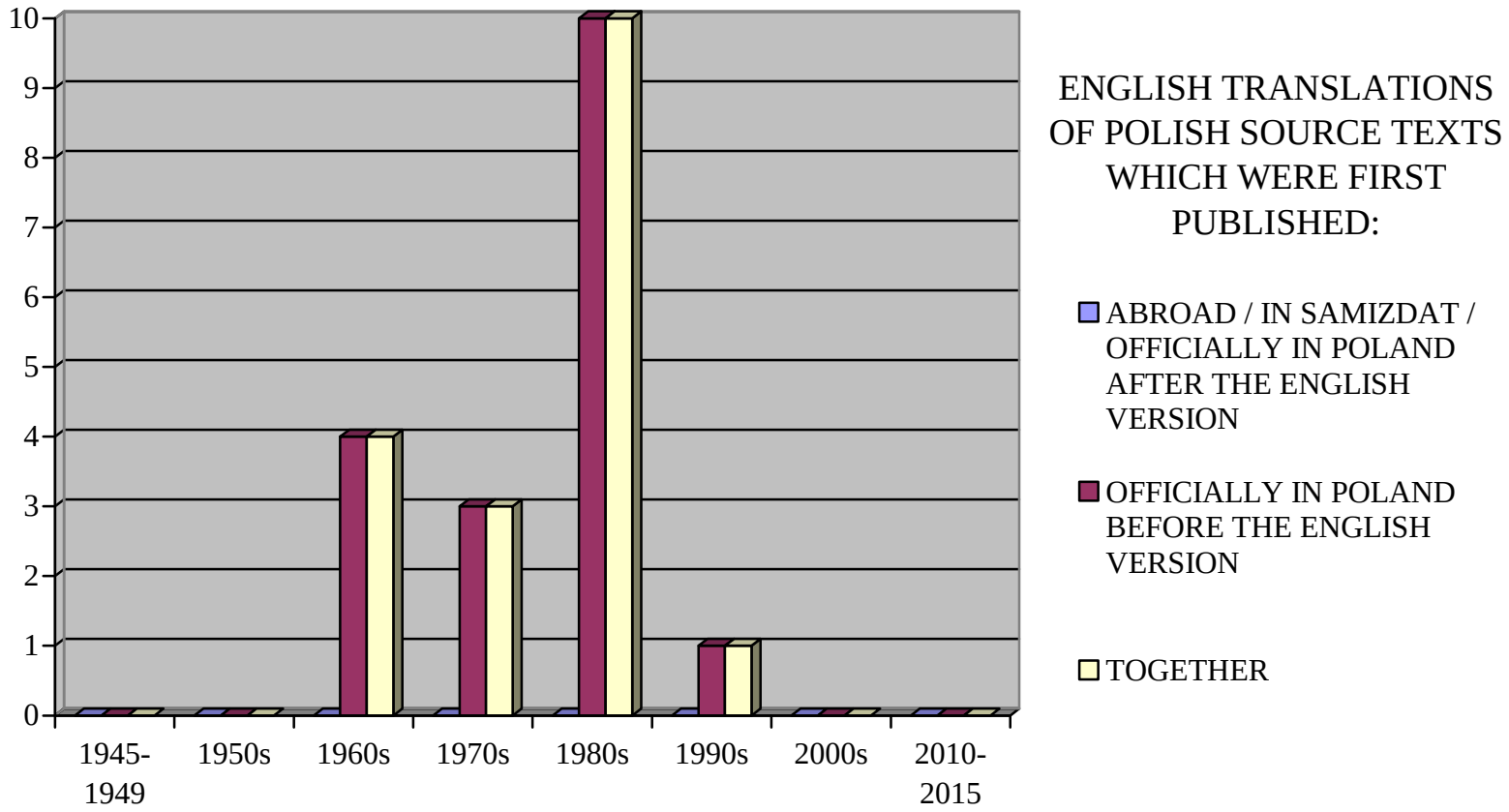


Chart 6: English translations of Polish **children's stories**. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the place of publication of the Polish source text.

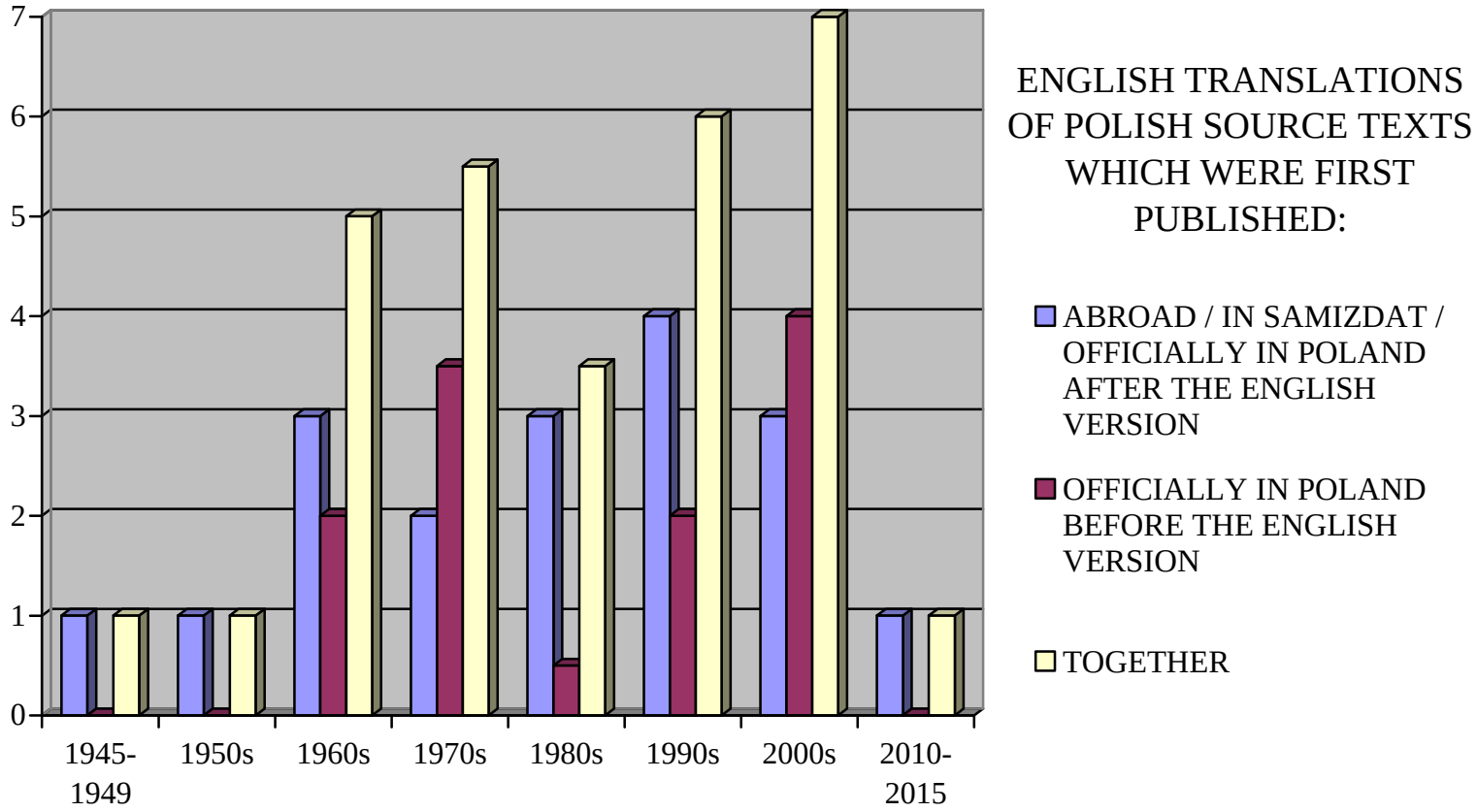


Chart 7: English translations of Polish novels and short stories about **other subjects**. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the place of publication of the Polish source text.

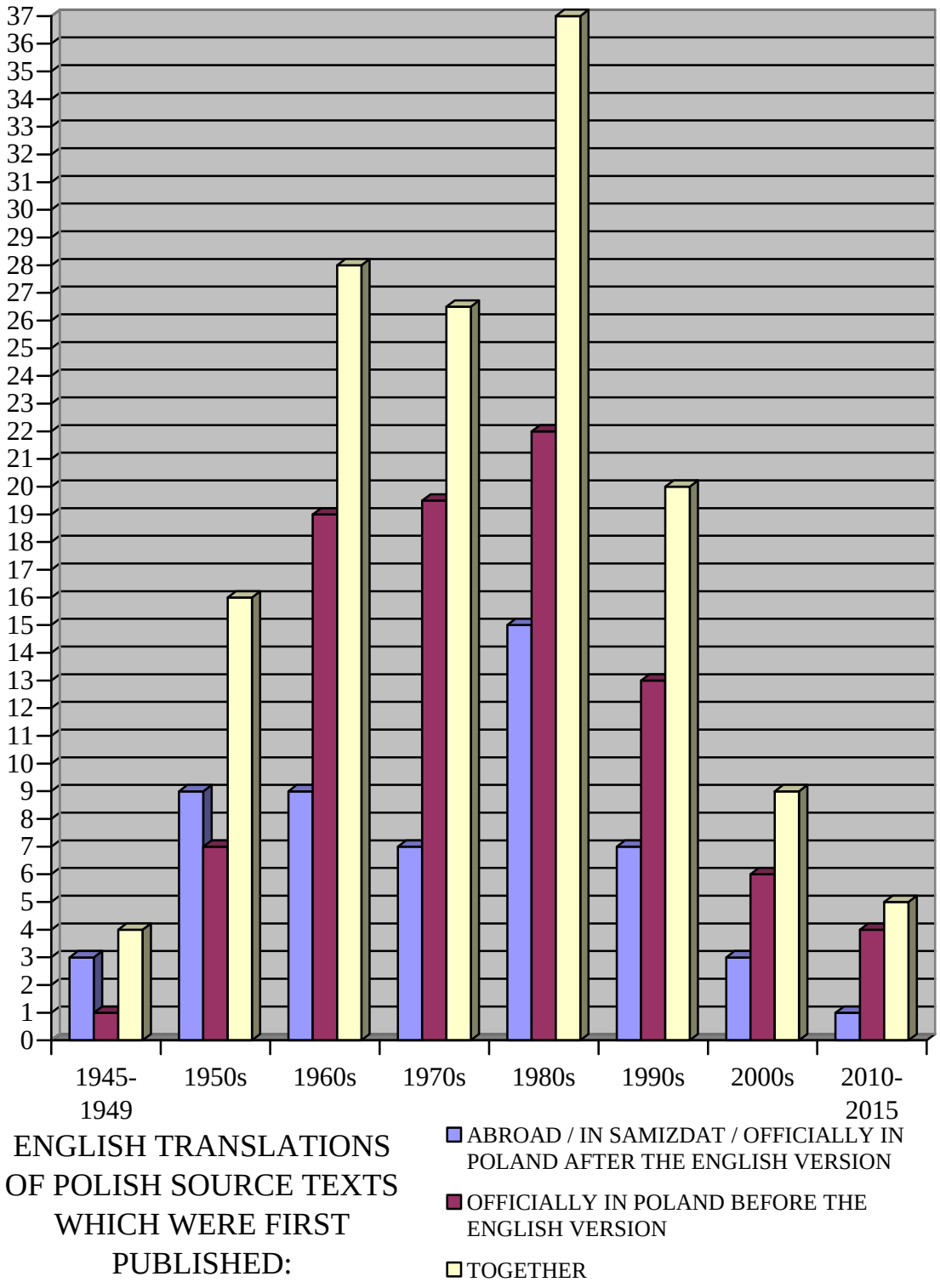


Chart 8: English translations of **all** Polish novels and short stories by **a single author**. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the place of publication of the **Polish** source text.

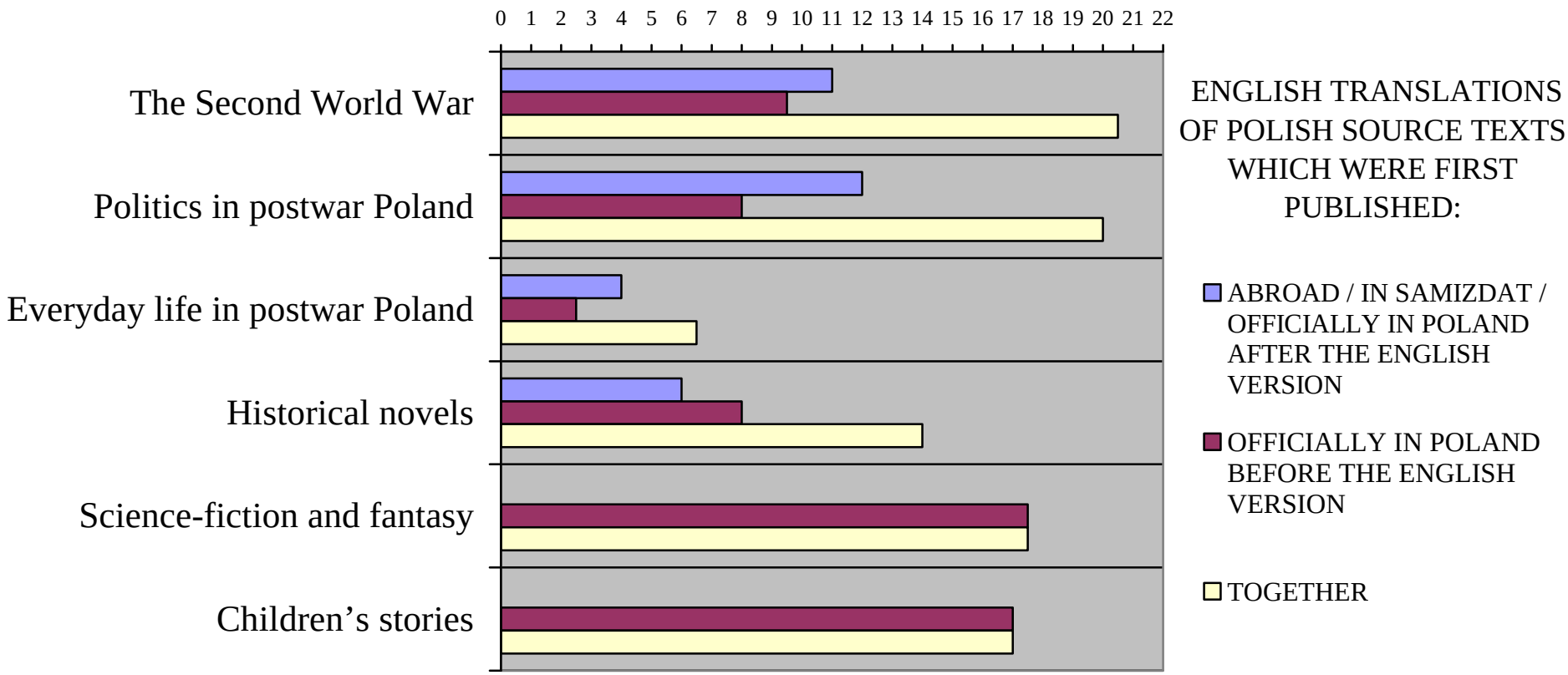


Chart 9: English translations of Polish novels and short stories by a single author. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between **1945 and 1989**. Division by **theme** according to the place of publication of the Polish source text.

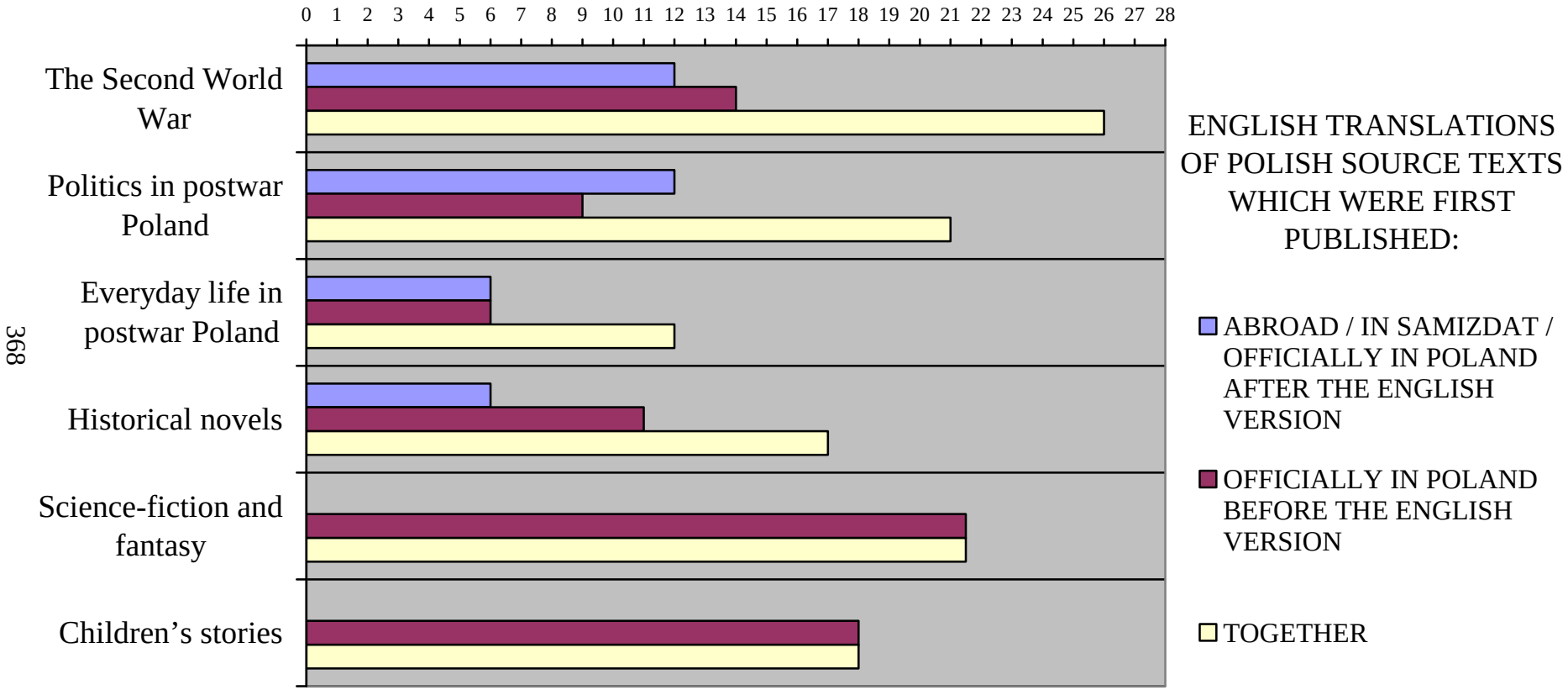


Chart 10: English translations of Polish novels and short stories by a single author. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between **1945 and 2015**. Division by **theme** according to the place of publication of the Polish source text.

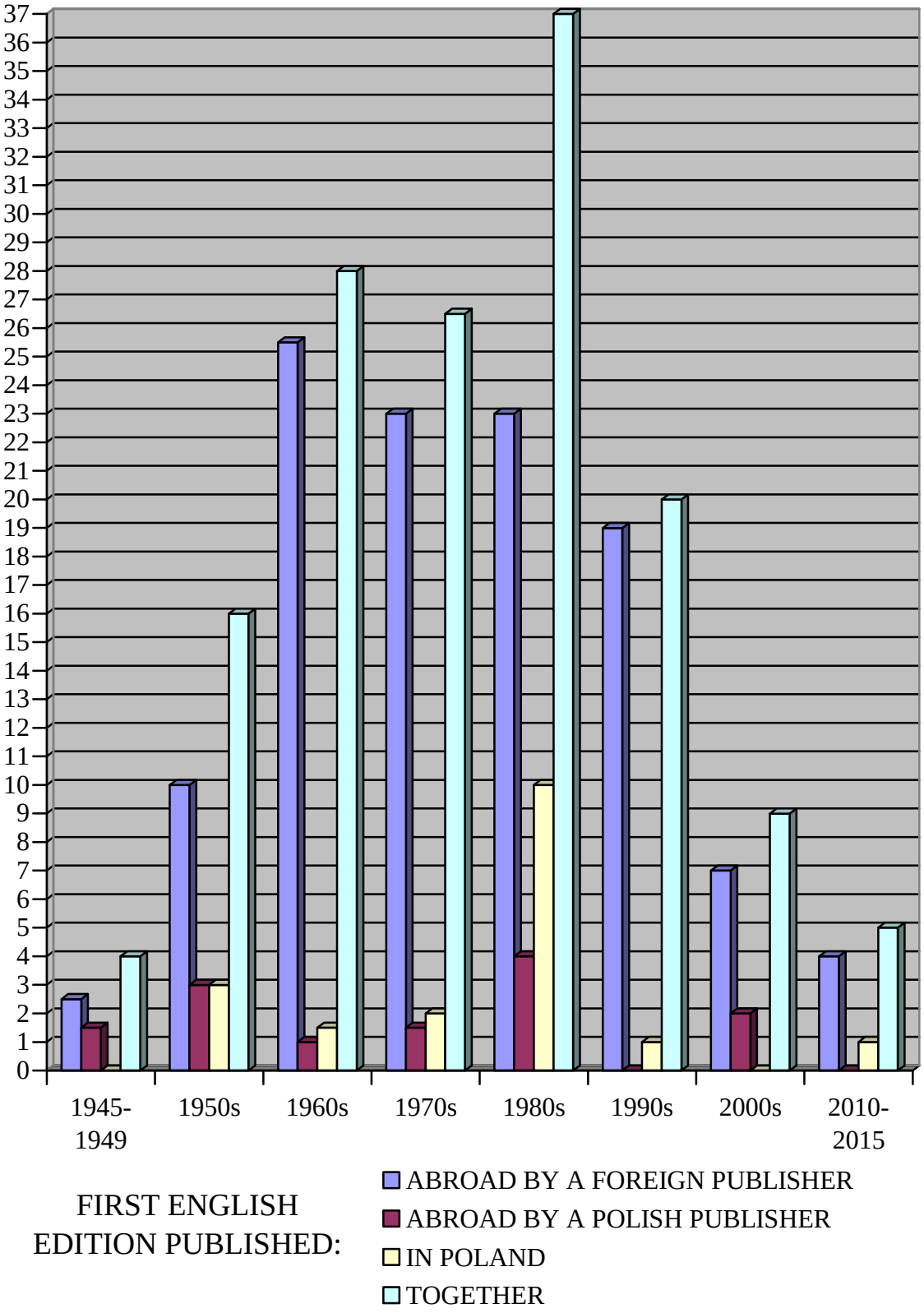


Chart 11: English translations of **all** Polish novels and short stories by **a single author**. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. English translations first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the publisher of the first **English** edition.

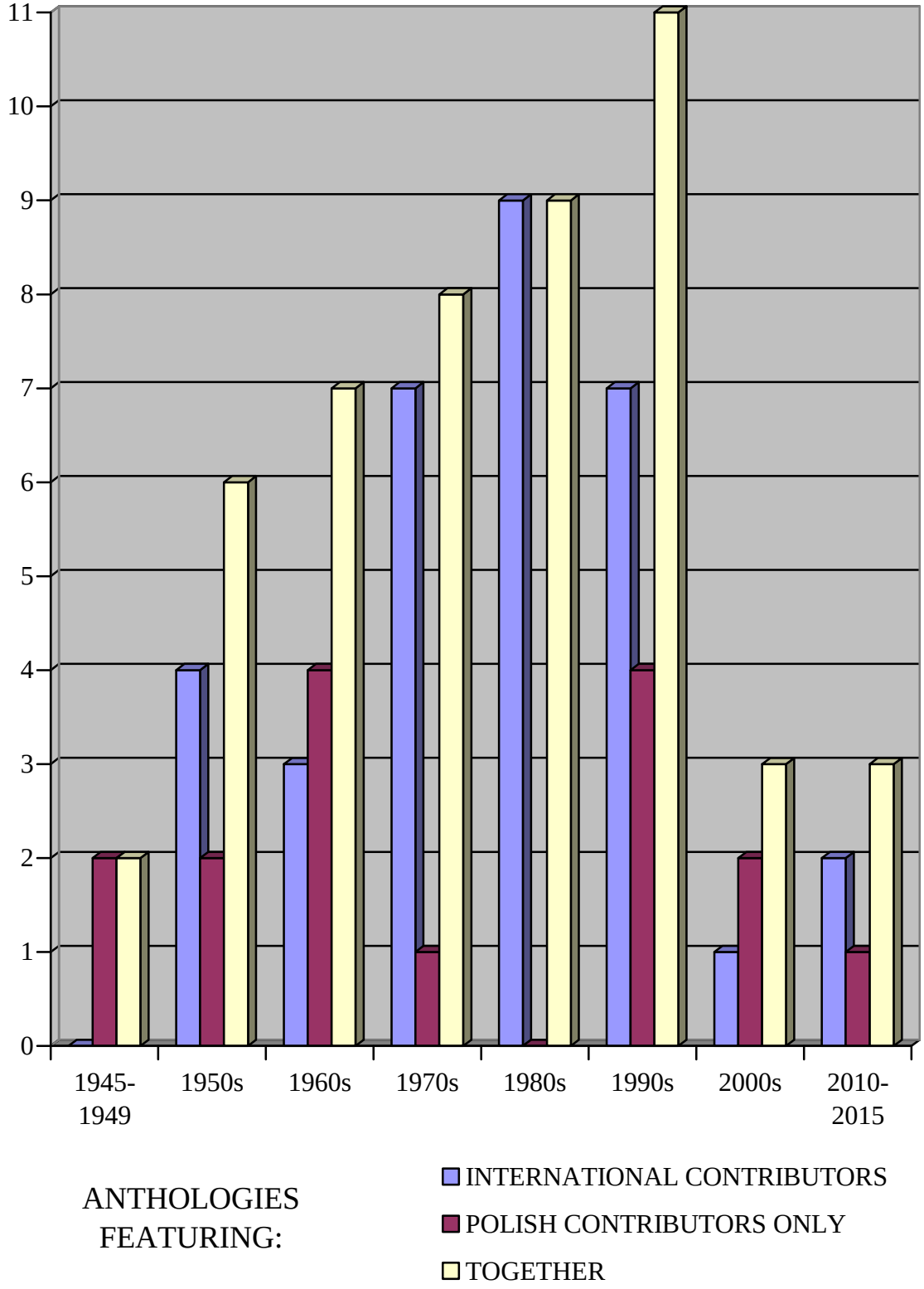


Chart 12: English-language **anthologies** containing translations of Polish short stories or excerpts from novels. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. Anthologies first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the nationality of **contributors**.

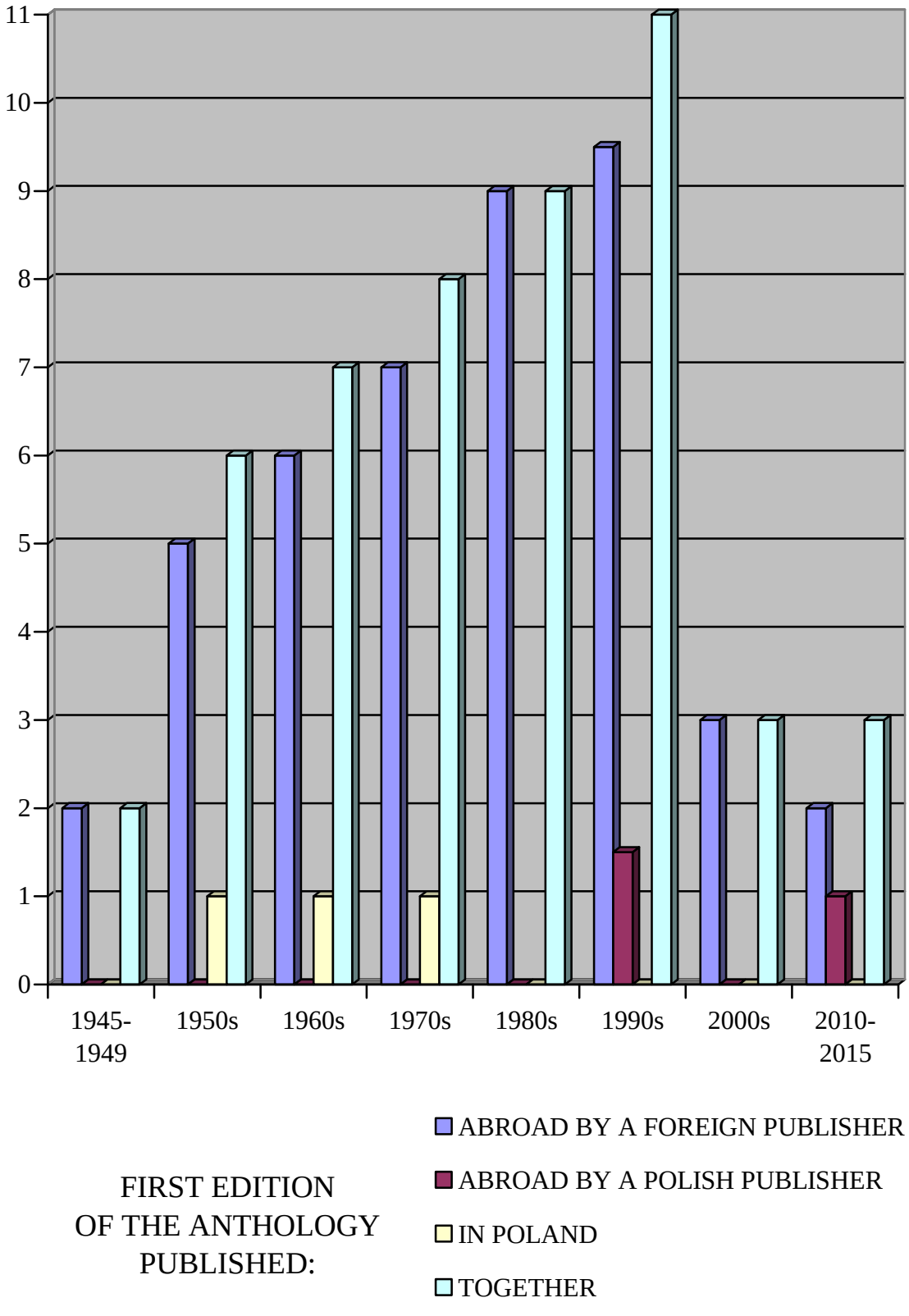


Chart 13: English-language **anthologies** containing translations of Polish short stories or excerpts from novels. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. Anthologies first published between 1945 and 2015. Division by decades according to the **publisher**.

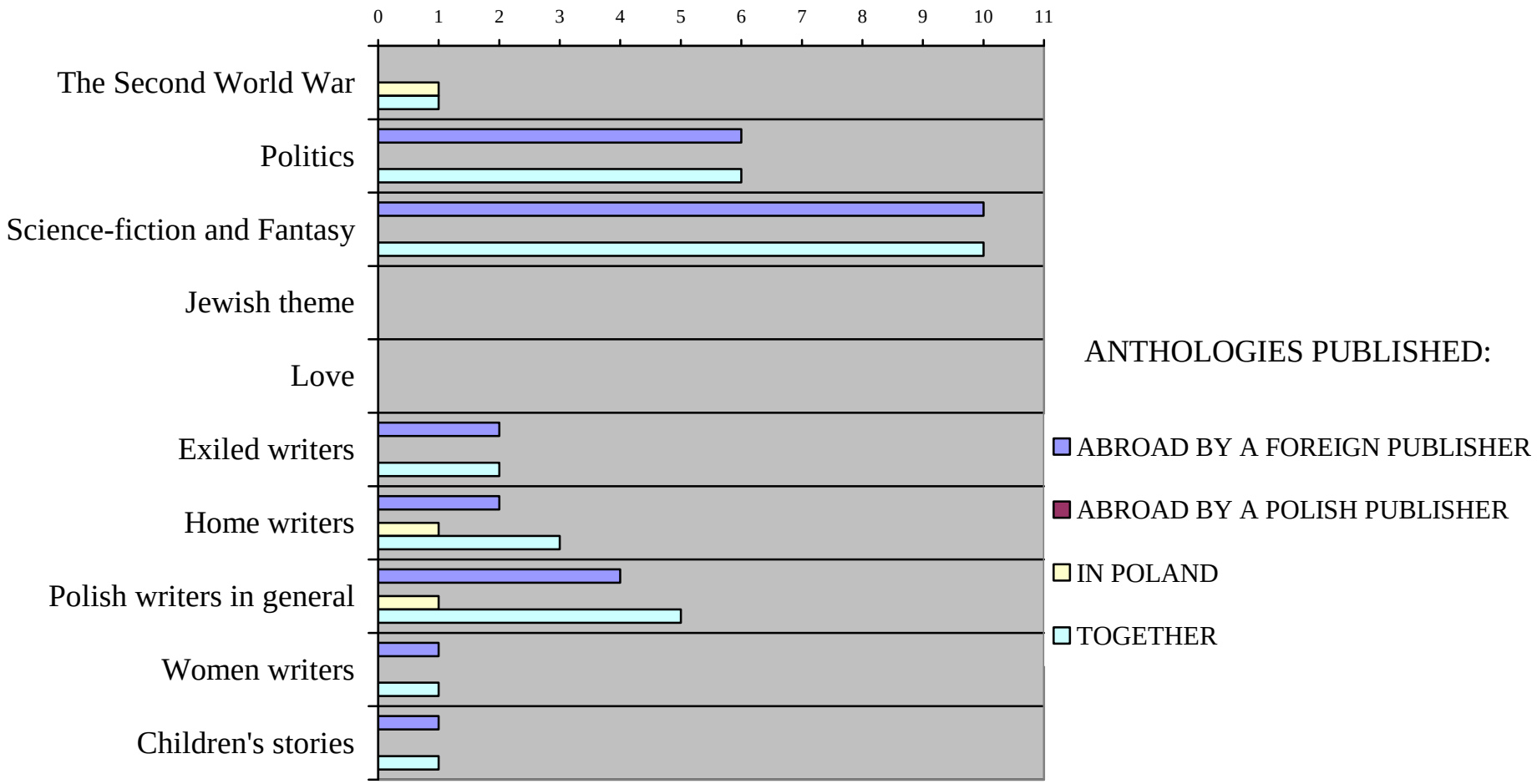


Chart 14: English-language **anthologies** containing translations of Polish short stories or excerpts from novels. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. Anthologies first published between **1945 and 1989**. Division according to the **focus** (theme, political status of the writer, source language, ethnicity, sex or age category).

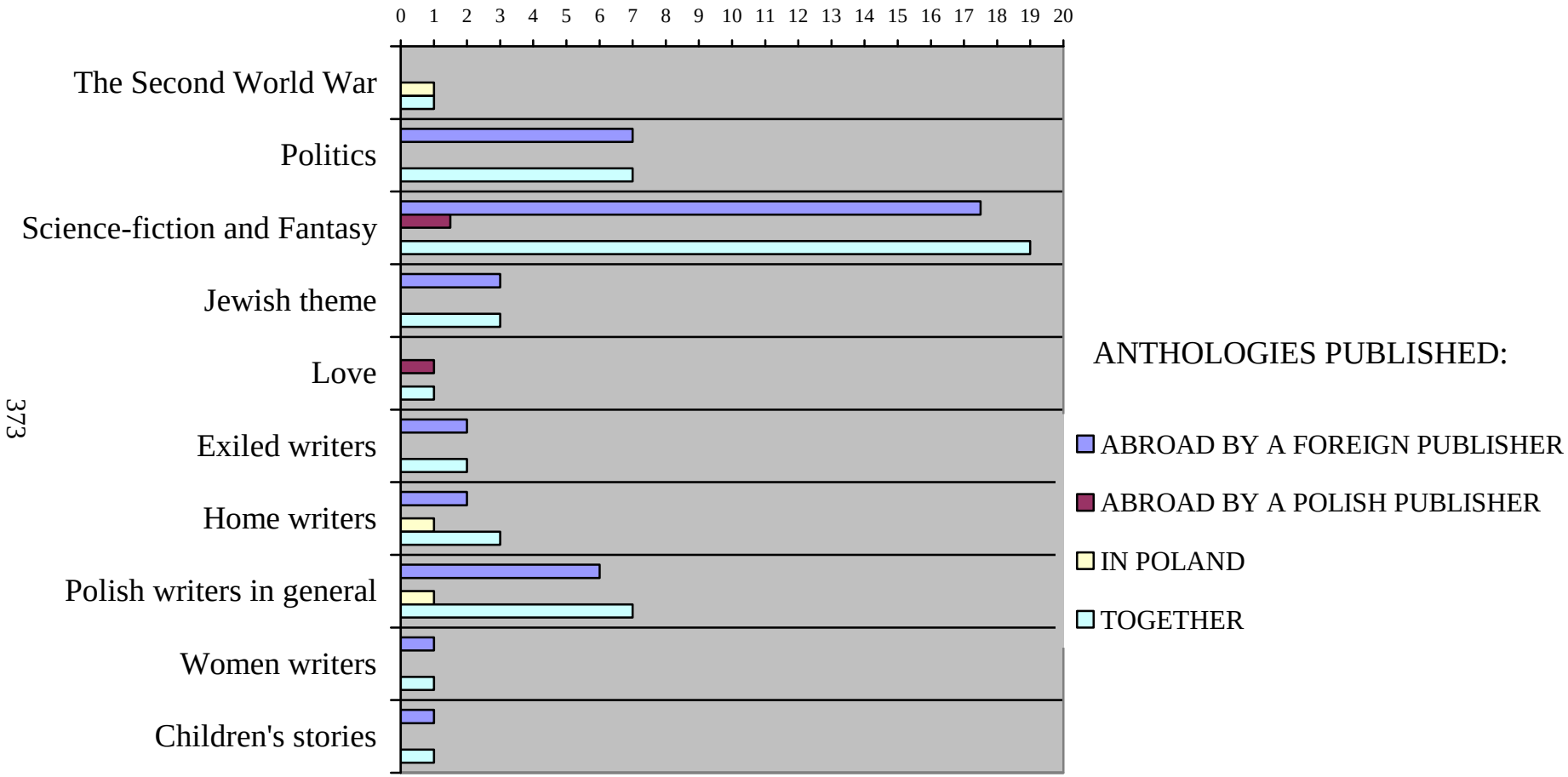


Chart 15: English-language **anthologies** containing translations of Polish short stories or excerpts from novels. Polish source texts first published between 1945 and 1989. Anthologies first published between **1945 and 2015**. Division according to the **focus** (theme, political status of the writer, source language, ethnicity, sex or age category).

ER 11-1214

Free Europe Committee, Inc.

TWO PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N.Y. TELEPHONE: LExington 2–8902

CABLE ADDRESS: NATFECOMM

January 26, 1959

Dear Cabell:

Enclosed is a copy of Free Europe Committee's Annual Report for 1958, a year which was of great significance in the struggle for freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

This report tells about some of our activities which I think you may find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Crittenberger

General C. P. Cabell, USAF
Deputy Director
Central Intelligence Agency
2430 E Street
Washington, D. C.

Attachment 1: A copy of Free Europe Committee's Annual Report for 1958 sent by Willis Dale Crittenberger, President of the FEC, to Charles Pearre Cabell, Deputy Director of the CIA.

ER 11-1204/2

17 FEB 1959

STAT

Mr. Willis D. Crittenberger
President
Free Europe Committee, Inc.
Two Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Critt:

Many thanks for the copy you sent me of "The President's Report" for 1958. I shall look forward to reading it.

Let me take this opportunity to say how much I, as an American citizen, admire you for having carried on the duties of President of the Free Europe Committee. I have followed in the press the activities of that Committee under you, and it is clear that real service to the cause of freedom has been rendered.

Here are best wishes for your future from a man who has admired you for thirty-seven years.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

C. P. Cabell
General, USAF
Deputy Director

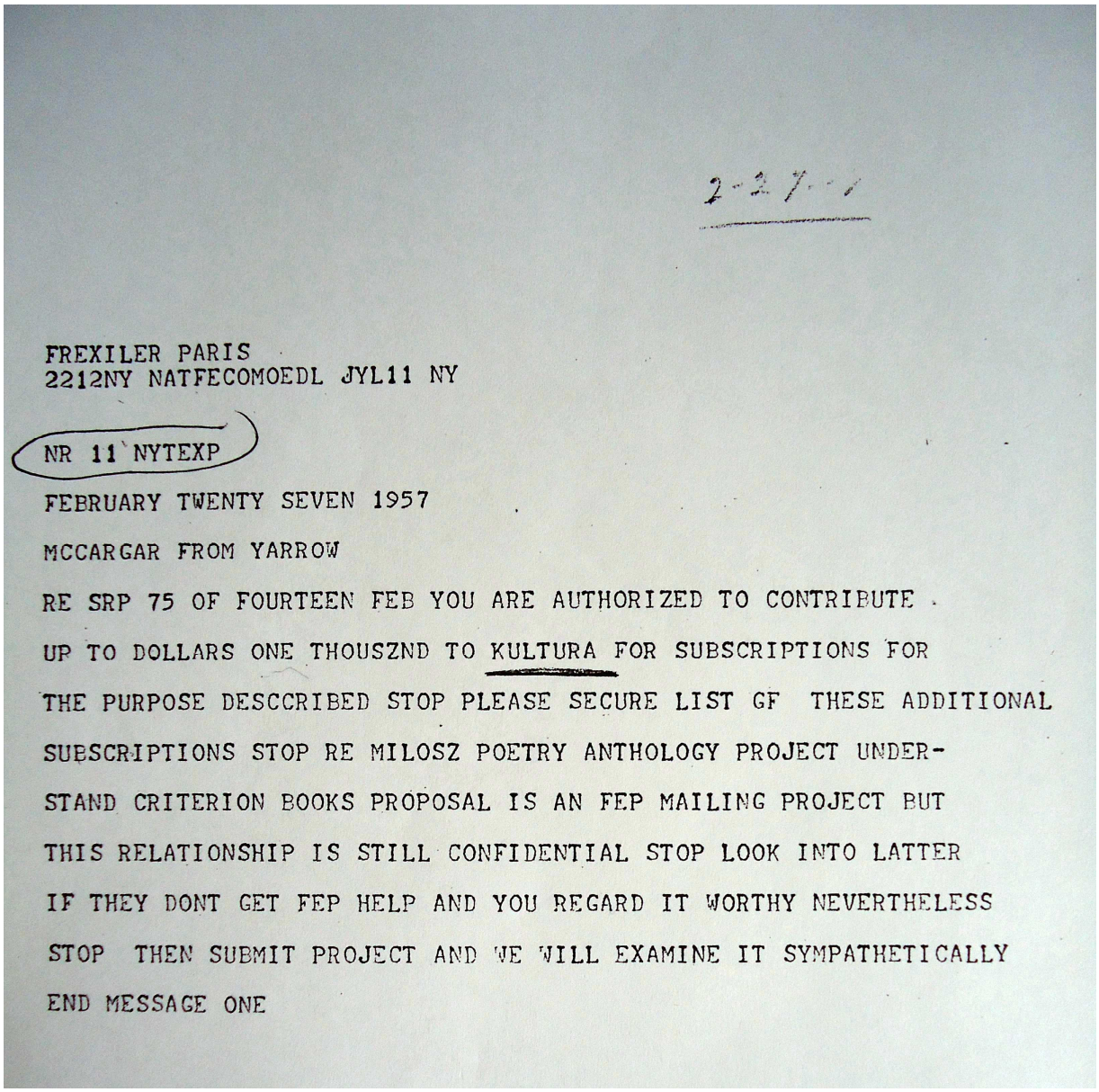
DDCI/kp
Distribution:
Orig - Addressee
1 - DDCI (w/report)
1 - ER (w/basic ltr)

FEC

410237

Approved For Release 2003/03/05 : CIA-RDP80B01676R004100040001-4

Attachment 2: A letter of acknowledgement from Charles Pearre Cabell, Deputy Director of the CIA, to Willis Dale Crittenberger, President of the FEC.



2-27-1

FREXILER PARIS
2212NY NATFECOMOEDL JYL11 NY

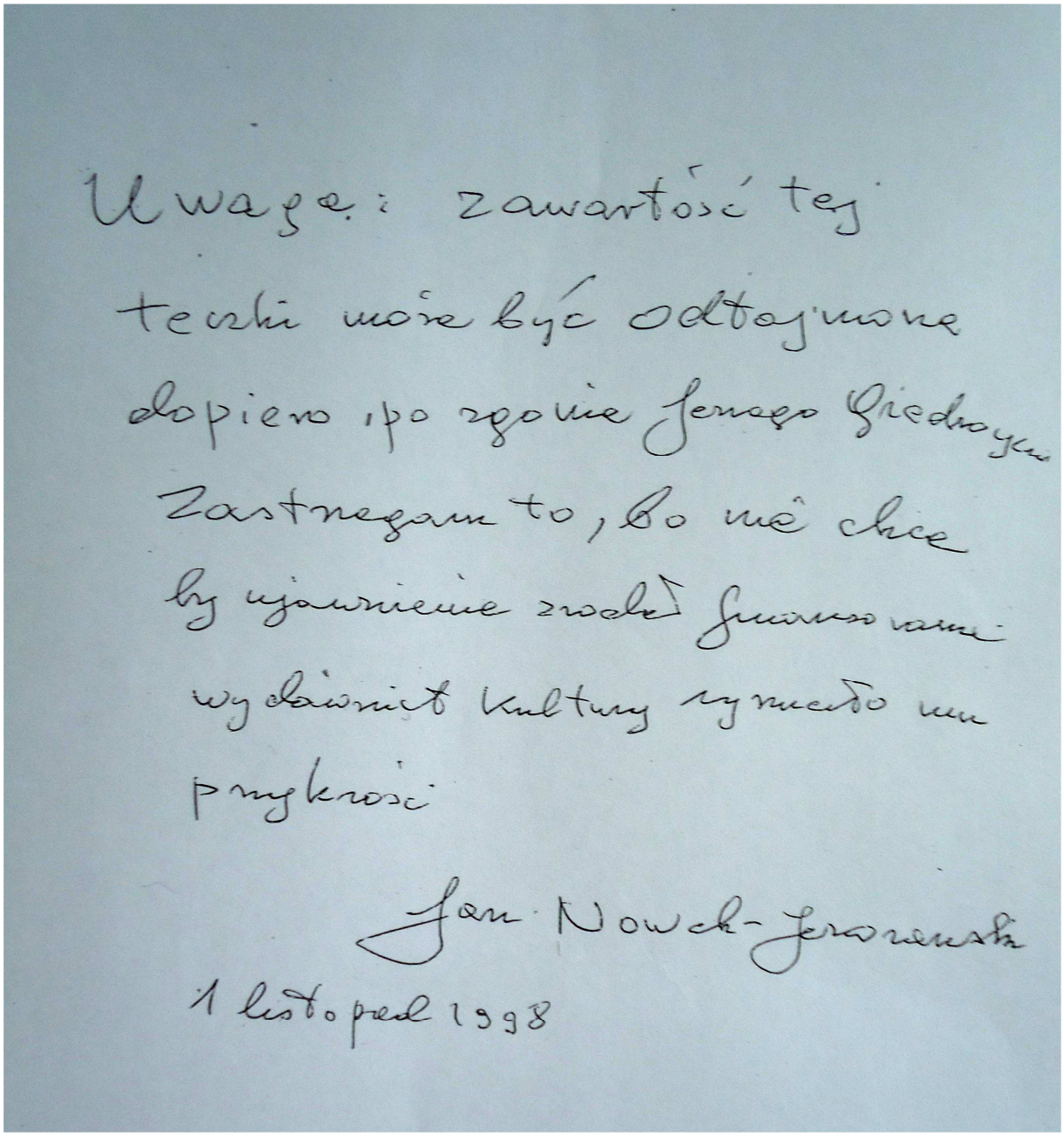
NR 11 NYTEXP

FEBRUARY TWENTY SEVEN 1957

MCCARGAR FROM YARROW

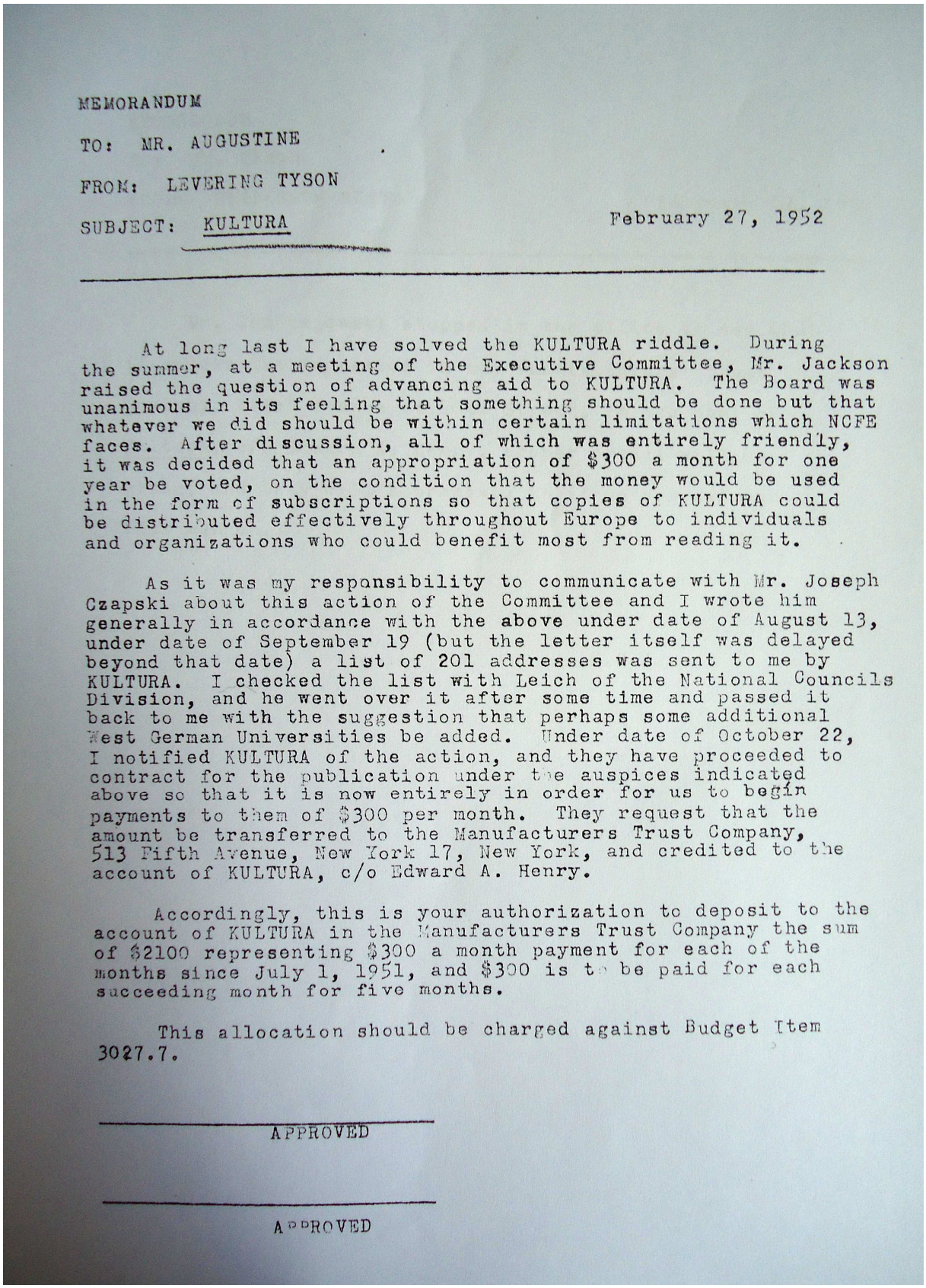
RE SRP 75 OF FOURTEEN FEB YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO CONTRIBUTE
UP TO DOLLARS ONE THOUSZND TO KULTURA FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR
THE PURPOSE DESCCRIBED STOP PLEASE SECURE LIST GF THESE ADDITIONAL
SUBSCRIPTIONS STOP RE MILOSZ POETRY ANTHOLOGY PROJECT UNDER-
STAND CRITERION BOOKS PROPOSAL IS AN FEP MAILING PROJECT BUT
THIS RELATIONSHIP IS STILL CONFIDENTIAL STOP LOOK INTO LATTER
IF THEY DONT GET FEP HELP AND YOU REGARD IT WORTHY NEVERTHELESS
STOP THEN SUBMIT PROJECT AND WE WILL EXAMINE IT SYMPATHETICALLY
END MESSAGE ONE

Attachment 3: A message dispatched by Bernard Yarrow, Vice-President of the Free Europe Committee in New York, to James Goodrich McCargar from the FEC Division in Paris. Apart from addressing the issue of subsidising *Kultura* (through mass subscriptions), it mentions "Miłosz poetry anthology project," proposed by Criterion Books. Miłosz's *Postwar Polish Poetry*, however, did not appear in print until 1965, brought out by Doubleday, another publisher to be drawn into the confidential book publishing and mailing project overseen by the FEC (Matthews 2003: 422), of which Free Europe Press was a division.


Uwaga: zawartość tej
teczki może być odtajniona
dopiero po zgonie Jerzego Giedroyca.
Zastrzegam to, bo nie chcę
by ujawnienie źródeł finansowania
wydawnictw Kultury sprawiło mu
przykrość.

Jan Nowak-Jeziorański
1 listopad 1998

Attachment 4: A handwritten note by Jan Nowak-Jeziorański contained in the folder with documents giving evidence to American financial support for Jerzy Giedroyc's Literary Institute in Paris. The note states: "Attention: the contents of this folder can only be revealed after the demise of Jerzy Giedroyc. I make this stipulation since I do not want to upset him by the disclosure concerning the sources of financial support for *Kultura*'s publications. Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, 1st November 1998." (trans. mine)



MEMORANDUM

TO: MR. AUGUSTINE

FROM: LEVERING TYSON

SUBJECT: KULTURA

February 27, 1952

At long last I have solved the KULTURA riddle. During the summer, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, Mr. Jackson raised the question of advancing aid to KULTURA. The Board was unanimous in its feeling that something should be done but that whatever we did should be within certain limitations which NCFE faces. After discussion, all of which was entirely friendly, it was decided that an appropriation of $300 a month for one year be voted, on the condition that the money would be used in the form of subscriptions so that copies of KULTURA could be distributed effectively throughout Europe to individuals and organizations who could benefit most from reading it.

As it was my responsibility to communicate with Mr. Joseph Czapski about this action of the Committee and I wrote him generally in accordance with the above under date of August 13, under date of September 19 (but the letter itself was delayed beyond that date) a list of 201 addresses was sent to me by KULTURA. I checked the list with Leich of the National Councils Division, and he went over it after some time and passed it back to me with the suggestion that perhaps some additional West German Universities be added. Under date of October 22, I notified KULTURA of the action, and they have proceeded to contract for the publication under the auspices indicated above so that it is now entirely in order for us to begin payments to them of $300 per month. They request that the amount be transferred to the Manufacturers Trust Company, 513 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York, and credited to the account of KULTURA, c/o Edward A. Henry.

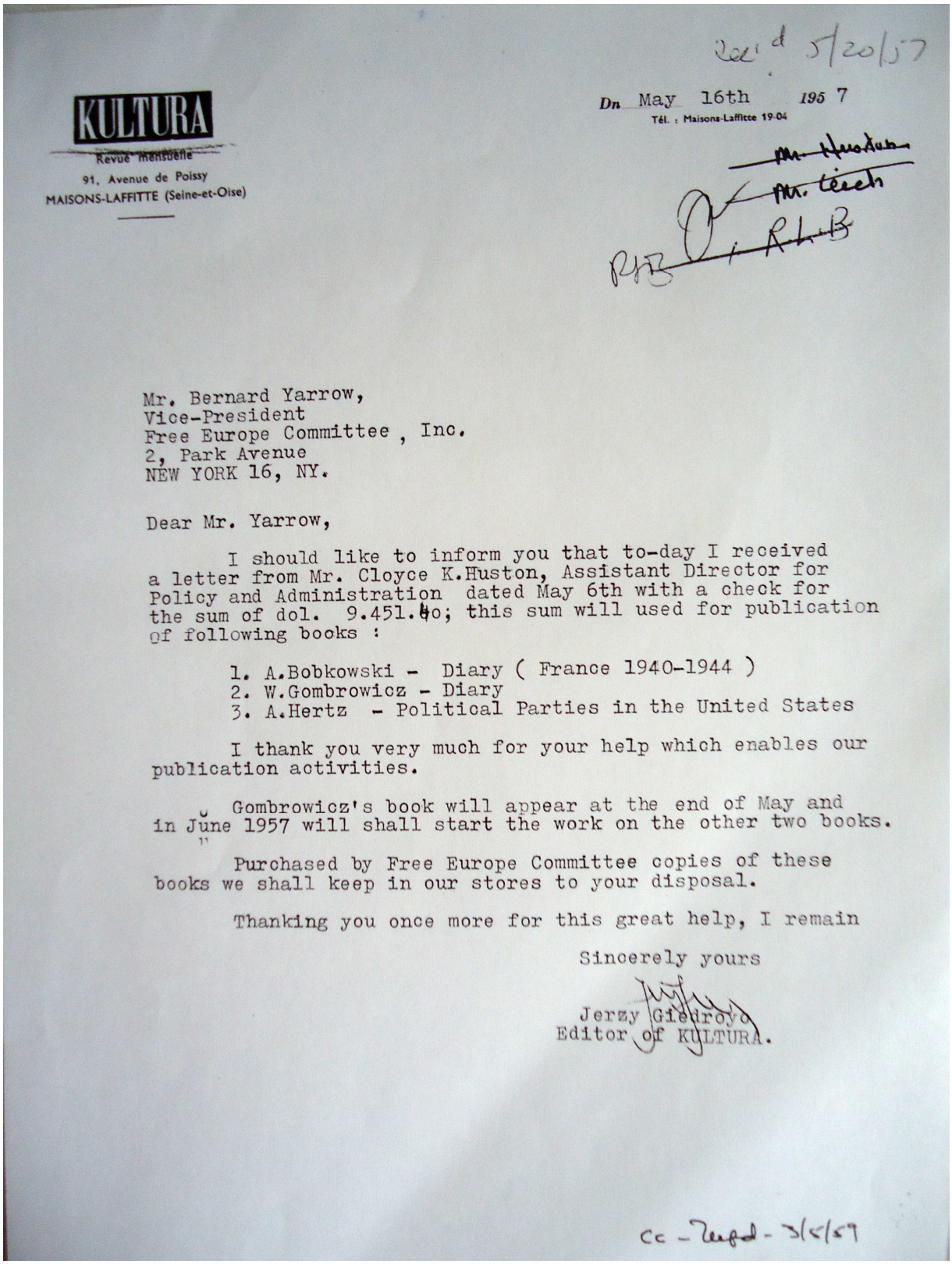
Accordingly, this is your authorization to deposit to the account of KULTURA in the Manufacturers Trust Company the sum of $2100 representing $300 a month payment for each of the months since July 1, 1951, and $300 is to be paid for each succeeding month for five months.

This allocation should be charged against Budget Item 3027.7.

APPROVED

APPROVED

Attachment 5: A memorandum from Levering Tyson to Theodore C. Augustine (FEC's Secretary and Assistant Treasurer) allocating money, to be used in the form of subscriptions, to Jerzy Giedroyc's *Kultura*.



KULTURA
Revue mensuelle
91, Avenue de Poissy
MAISONS-LAFFITTE (Seine-et-Oise)

Rec'd 5/20/57

Dn May 16th 1957
Tél. : Maisons-Laffitte 19-04

Mr. Huston
Mr. Leech
RJB
A.L.B

Mr. Bernard Yarrow,
Vice-President
Free Europe Committee , Inc.
2, Park Avenue
NEW YORK 16, NY.

Dear Mr. Yarrow,

I should like to inform you that to-day I received a letter from Mr. Cloyce K.Huston, Assistant Director for Policy and Administration dated May 6th with a check for the sum of dol. 9.451.40; this sum will used for publication of following books :

1. A.Bobkowski - Diary (France 1940-1944)
2. W.Gombrowicz - Diary
3. A.Hertz - Political Parties in the United States

I thank you very much for your help which enables our publication activities.

Gombrowicz's book will appear at the end of May and in June 1957 will shall start the work on the other two books.

Purchased by Free Europe Committee copies of these books we shall keep in our stores to your disposal.

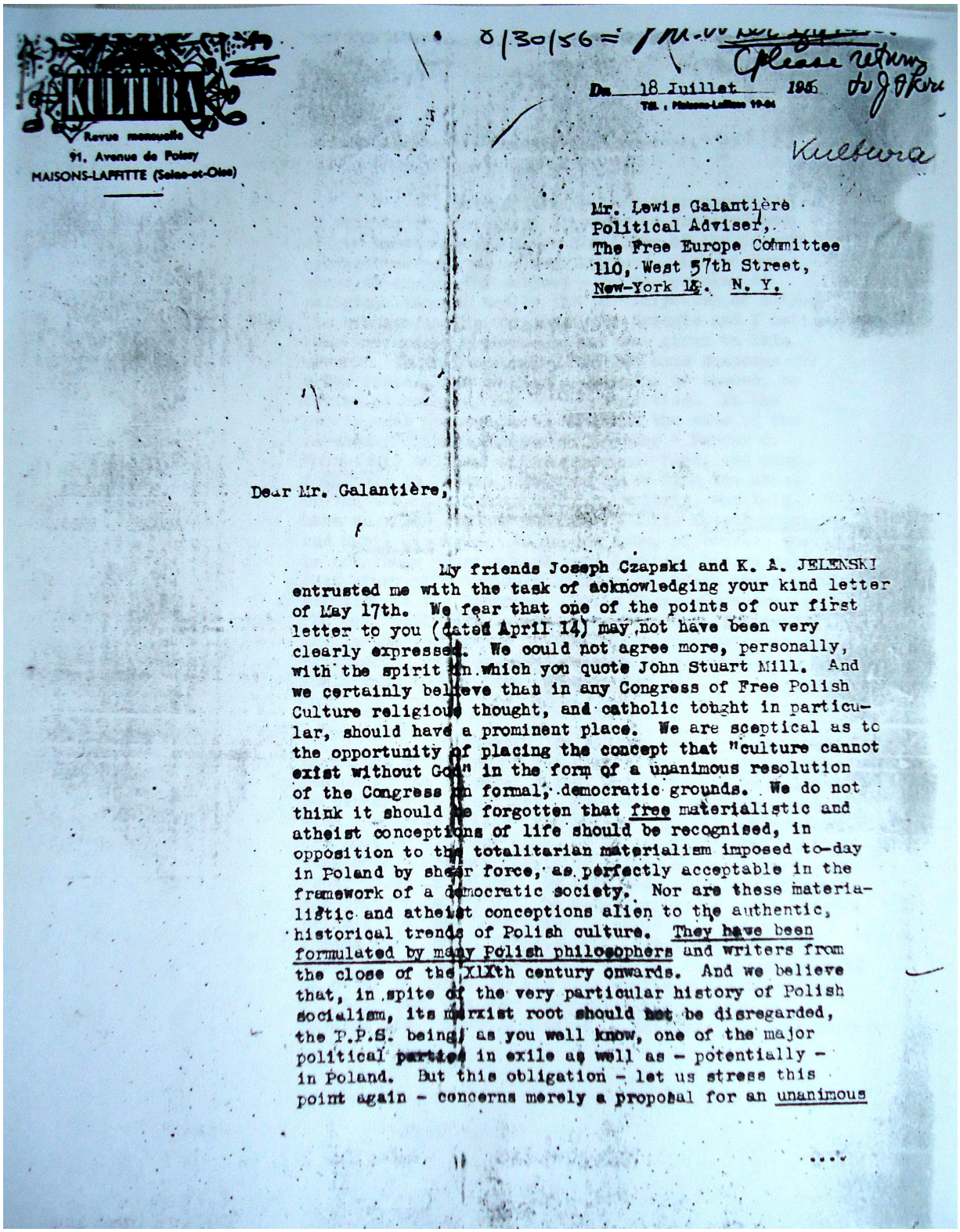
Thanking you once more for this great help, I remain

Sincerely yours

Jerzy Giedroyc
Editor of KULTURA.

cc - Zurfod - 5/21/57

Attachment 6: A letter from Jerzy Giedroyc to Bernard Yarrow acknowledging the financial help received from the FEC for the purpose of publishing, in Polish, books by Andrzej Bobkowski – *Szkice piórkiem: Francja 1940-1944* (1957), Witold Gombrowicz – *Dziennik 1953-1956* (1957) and Aleksander Hertz – *Amerykańskie stronnictwa polityczne* (1957).



KULTURA
Revue mensuelle
91, Avenue de Poissy
MAISONS-LAFFITTE (Seine-et-Oise)

δ/30/56 = / M.-W. ...
Please return
Dr J Stern
Kultura

Le 18 Juillet 195
Tél. : Maisons-Laffitte 19-04

Mr. Lewis Galantière
Political Adviser,
The Free Europe Committee
110, West 57th Street,
New-York 19. N. Y.

Dear Mr. Galantière,

My friends Joseph Czapski and K. A. JELENSKI entrusted me with the task of acknowledging your kind letter of May 17th. We fear that one of the points of our first letter to you (dated April 14) may not have been very clearly expressed. We could not agree more, personally, with the spirit in which you quote John Stuart Mill. And we certainly believe that in any Congress of Free Polish Culture religious thought, and catholic tought in particular, should have a prominent place. We are sceptical as to the opportunity of placing the concept that "culture cannot exist without God" in the form of a unanimous resolution of the Congress on formal, democratic grounds. We do not think it should be forgotten that free materialistic and atheist conceptions of life should be recognised, in opposition to the totalitarian materialism imposed to-day in Poland by sheer force, as perfectly acceptable in the framework of a democratic society. Nor are these materialistic and atheist conceptions alien to the authentic, historical trends of Polish culture. They have been formulated by many Polish philosophers and writers from the close of the XIXth century onwards. And we believe that, in spite of the very particular history of Polish socialism, its marxist root should not be disregarded, the P.P.S. being, as you well know, one of the major political parties in exile as well as - potentially - in Poland. But this obligation - let us stress this point again - concerns merely a proposal for an unanimous

Attachment 7: A letter from Jerzy Giedroyc to Lewis Galantière, Political Adviser in the Free Europe Committee, in which, among other issues, he presents a solution to the Polish government's offensive in the field of literature.

declaration on the part of the Congress.

I should like to take this opportunity of writing to you again, in order to amplify some of our past suggestions in the light of the present provisional program of the Congress. Let me begin - since we are on the subject - by the problem of religious thought and by the participation of catholic writers in the Congress. My friends and I believe that not enough importance has been given to this sector. It is, obviously, and the same concerns all other fields, not so much a question of themes, or titles of reports, but of personalities. In the provisional program we do not find the name of the foremost Polish catholic philosopher - Father O. Bochenski, who has an international fame, and many followers in Poland. Neither do we find the names of the two most famous cathólic writers, who both have an international audience : Zofia Kossak-Szczucka and Maria Winowska. We do not know, of course, whether or not these persons have been invited, but we believe that every effort should be made to obtain their participation in the Congress. Zofia Kossak-Szczucka is, by the way, publishing articles in "Tygodnik Powszechny" and in the new weekly of the Polish "régime" catholics, "Kierunki", and her participation in a congress of exiles would have a particular importance.

In general, we are now facing a particularly dangerous offensive on the part of the Polish communist régime in the cultural field, which should, we believe, be strongly counteracted. Many exiled writers - and with a strange "flair" the Polish cultural authorities are chosing the best ones, or at least the most interesting ones - are now receiving offers of publishing their books in Poland. We have been told that offers are being made, or will be made shortly to the following writers : Witold Gombrowicz is asked to allow his famous first novel "Ferdydurke", first published in 1938, to be republished. T. Parnicki is approached with an offer to republish his "Aecjusz" and "Srebrne Orly". J. Jasienczyk has been approached with a proposal to publish his "Slowo o Bitwie". It seems that our suggestion

....

to include into the programme of the Congress of Free Polish Culture a point concerning the publishing of books by exiled writers in Poland was not without actuality. Our own feelings in this field are complex. On the one hand, it seems very difficult for an exiled writer to forbid his books being published in Poland : it has been, after all, one of our grievances against the regime that these books could not reach a wide Polish audience. On the other hand, we feel that Polish writers in exile should under no circumstances accept remuneration in any form for books which they would publish in Poland under the present regime.

It seems extremely dangerous to us to accept any form of compromise in this field. The Polish government usually offers to the exiled writer approached to pay his fees to his family or friends in Poland. We do not think that an exiled writer should accept this sort of offer. We are a political emigration, and we should all feel morally obliged to draw all consequences from this position. No exile should be in any way financially obliged to the comminity regime in Poland. On the other hand, there is no reason at all for exiled writers to forego their rights to their honoraires, and to make such "presents" to "Czytelnik". We suggest therefore that exiled writers should demand that their fees and author's percentages be paid to some Polish funds which would be considered as being in the general interest of Polish culture, such as the reconstruction and maintenance of the National Library. This sort of gifts from exiled writers to the Polish people would also have its propaganda importance.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to demand such important financial sacrifices from writers who very often live in miserable conditions. The financial offers made by the Polish government to exiled writers are often very high. We believe that Witold Gombrowicz has been offered 50.000 zlotys for the republication of his "Ferdydurke". This enormous fum woul enable his family in Poland to live for several years. But there are, fortunately, very few Polish writers in exile who interest the Polish communist government enough to receive such extravagant offers. In fact, we do not believe that more than ten Polish writers in exile will receive offers of publishing their books in Poland, and in the near future the whole problem is likely to boil down to five to ten books every years. It would seem to us, therefore, that a very discreet scheme should be established, which would enable a Polish writer in exile to be financially "compensated" for the fees which he will voluntarily forego in Poland. This compensation need not be in any sort of relation to the sums offered in Poland. We know that parcels of relatively small financial value reach a much bigger equivalent in zlotys when they are sent to Poland. Thus, the Polish exiled writers would not have the feeling of frustating their families in Poland. Very urgent action in this field is required, however, if we are to prevent several Polish writers in exile to accept

.../...

offers which they have received from Poland. Gombrowicz is the most urgent case. I think I could dissuade him from accepting the fees offered by the Polish Government, if I could give him an advance of $ 1.000 on his books which I hope to publish. You realise, of course that I do not have necessary means. A Polish editorial fund could render great service here. I believe, however, that the relatively small amount of money required would be an excellent political investment, would save Polish cultural life in exile from disintegration and would constitute a very effective propaganda move for Poland. Urgent action is essential, however. I could discuss it in detail with Mr. Mac Curgar in Paris, for instance.

Our answer to your letter has been delayed by the workers revolt in Poznan, which gave us plenty to do here. I attach a memorandum on the Polish situation in general, with a particular reference to the Poznan events. I hope it may be of interest to you.

As far as the Congress of Free Polish Culture is concerned, I am afraid that what I may follow of its preparation does not inspire me with much hope of success. In this dramatic period, the Congress should give a lively and courageous challenge. Its political character, its conservative spirit is likely - in our opinion - to do more harm than good.

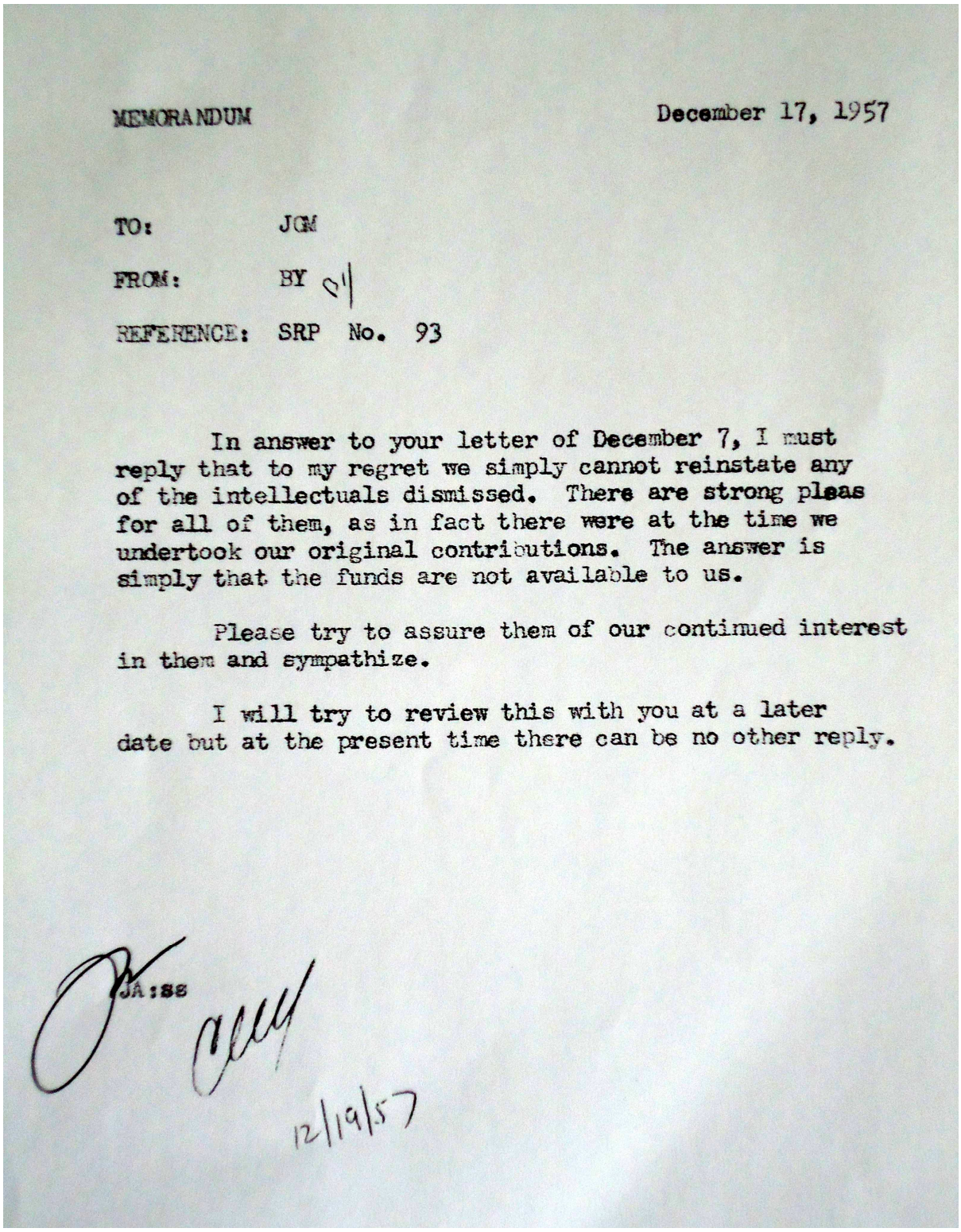
I hope you will excuse this long and chaotic letter. As you know, "Kultura" is entirely independent and stands outside political party action. It is in this spirit, which we hope to be impartial, that we are always at your disposal for any possible advice. If I have overloaded this letter with too many points, it is only because time seems so short.

Thanking you again for your kind and understanding letter, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

J. Giedroyc.

Encl.



MEMORANDUM December 17, 1957

TO: JGM

FROM: BY

REFERENCE: SRP No. 93

In answer to your letter of December 7, I must reply that to my regret we simply cannot reinstate any of the intellectuals dismissed. There are strong pleas for all of them, as in fact there were at the time we undertook our original contributions. The answer is simply that the funds are not available to us.

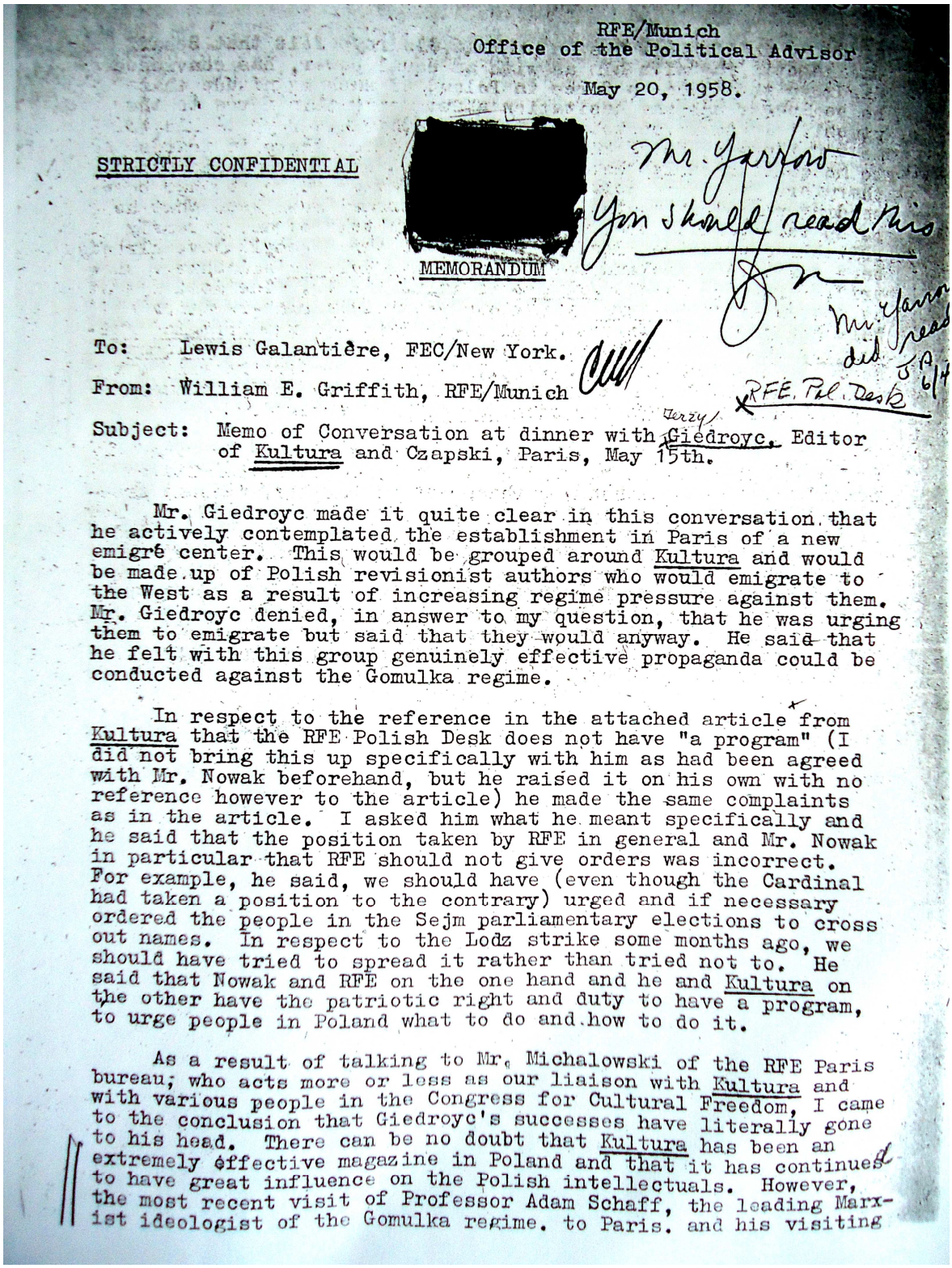
Please try to assure them of our continued interest in them and sympathize.

I will try to review this with you at a later date but at the present time there can be no other reply.

JA:ss

12/19/57

Attachment 8: A memorandum from Bernard Yarrow to James Goodrich McCargar informing the latter about the irreversible discontinuation of grants for Polish intellectuals. The grants were cancelled from 1st January 1958 (Nowak-Jeziorański and Giedroyc 2001: 232, 234).



RFE/Munich
Office of the Political Advisor

May 20, 1958.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Yarrow
You should read this.

Mr. Yarrow read this 5/A 6/4

RFE. Pol. Desk

To: Lewis Galantière, FEC/New York.

From: William E. Griffith, RFE/Munich

Subject: Memo of Conversation at dinner with Giedroyc (Jerzy), Editor of Kultura and Czapski, Paris, May 15th.

Mr. Giedroyc made it quite clear in this conversation that he actively contemplated the establishment in Paris of a new emigré center. This would be grouped around Kultura and would be made up of Polish revisionist authors who would emigrate to the West as a result of increasing regime pressure against them. Mr. Giedroyc denied, in answer to my question, that he was urging them to emigrate but said that they would anyway. He said that he felt with this group genuinely effective propaganda could be conducted against the Gomulka regime.

In respect to the reference in the attached article from Kultura that the RFE Polish Desk does not have "a program" (I did not bring this up specifically with him as had been agreed with Mr. Nowak beforehand, but he raised it on his own with no reference however to the article) he made the same complaints as in the article. I asked him what he meant specifically and he said that the position taken by RFE in general and Mr. Nowak in particular that RFE should not give orders was incorrect. For example, he said, we should have (even though the Cardinal had taken a position to the contrary) urged and if necessary ordered the people in the Sejm parliamentary elections to cross out names. In respect to the Lodz strike some months ago, we should have tried to spread it rather than tried not to. He said that Nowak and RFE on the one hand and he and Kultura on the other have the patriotic right and duty to have a program, to urge people in Poland what to do and how to do it.

As a result of talking to Mr. Michalowski of the RFE Paris bureau, who acts more or less as our liaison with Kultura and with various people in the Congress for Cultural Freedom, I came to the conclusion that Giedroyc's successes have literally gone to his head. There can be no doubt that Kultura has been an extremely effective magazine in Poland and that it has continued to have great influence on the Polish intellectuals. However, the most recent visit of Professor Adam Schaff, the leading Marxist ideologist of the Gomulka regime, to Paris, and his visiting

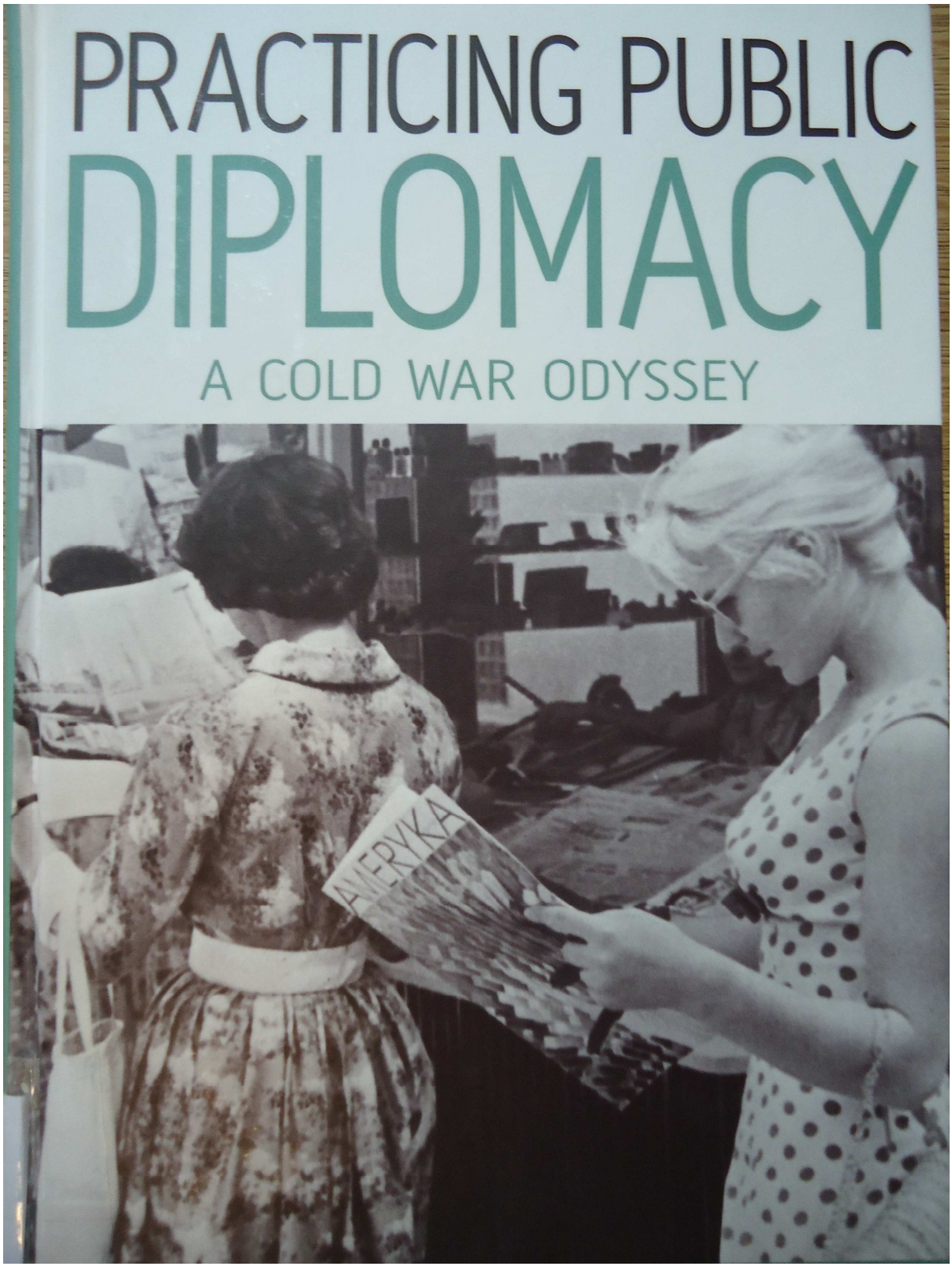
Attachment 9: A strictly confidential memorandum from William E. Griffith to Lewis Galantière (carbon copies sent to John Dunning, Erik Hazelhoff Roelfzema, John P. C. Matthews, James Goodrich McCargar, Samuel S. Walker and Bernard Yarrow), in which Griffith indentifies Zygmunt Michałowski as the FEC's man (page 1) and counts on Marek Hłasko's "choosing freedom" (page 2).

Giedroyc in such circumstances that Giedroyc felt that Schaff was negotiating with him as with an equal power, has convinced Giedroyc that he is a force in Poland of such magnitude that he no longer has any hesitation about using this force to the utmost. In addition to [redacted] that Giedroyc talked to me and the way that I kn[redacted]ed to others indicates to me quite clearly that [redacted]se of security, and that therefore people in Pola[redacted]Soviet Union (he has been sending pamphlets to the [redacted]arsaw) must know what he is up to. Furthermore, we [redacted]ly told by an extremely reliable source from inside Poland that three people have already been arrested in Poland for distributing Kultura and that a show trial directed against Kultura is quite likely. The most recent attacks against Kultura by various previously semi-revisionist Warsaw papers such as the April 24-30 issue of the Przeglad Kulturalny (Gustaw Gottesman, "Managers and Sociology of Kultura") seem to me to confirm this--i.e., these people are getting off the Kultura bandwagon while the getting off is good and preparing themselves alibis for when Kultura is attacked.

I think it indeed quite likely, considering the current Warsaw course that there will be several Polish revisionists who will in fact, although perhaps not officially, "choose freedom". Hlasko, apolitical as he is, is probably one. Hertz, now in London, may be another. Furthermore, this may not be a bad development from our viewpoint. It is quite possible that the repression in Poland from internal and now even more from external reasons may go so far that revisionists will not really be able to get anywhere in Poland and can do it better from outside. These are all matters deserving careful thought and planning for the future; I doubt, however, that they should be entirely in the hands of Mr. Giedroyc.

WEG/aha

cc: Messrs. Dunning
Hazelhoff
Matthews
McCargar
Walker
Yarrow



Attachment 10: Picture of Poles reading *Ameryka*.

16 JULY 19

RFE NEWS & INFORMATION SERVICE - EVALUATION & RESEARCH SECTION

EAST EUROPEAN DELEGATES TO 30th PEN CONGRESS

The following are the delegates from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria who will be attending the 30th PEN-Club Congress to open in Frankfurt/Main on July 16.

POLAND

Jan PARANDOWSKI, born in 1895, Poland's leading Hellenist, a novelist and essayist of pre-war standing, President of the Polish PEN-Club since before the war. Never a follower of the regime's cultural policy, P. managed to maintain an independent position in Poland's cultural life. At some of PEN-Club congresses after the war, he spoke mildly in favor of "peace" slogans.

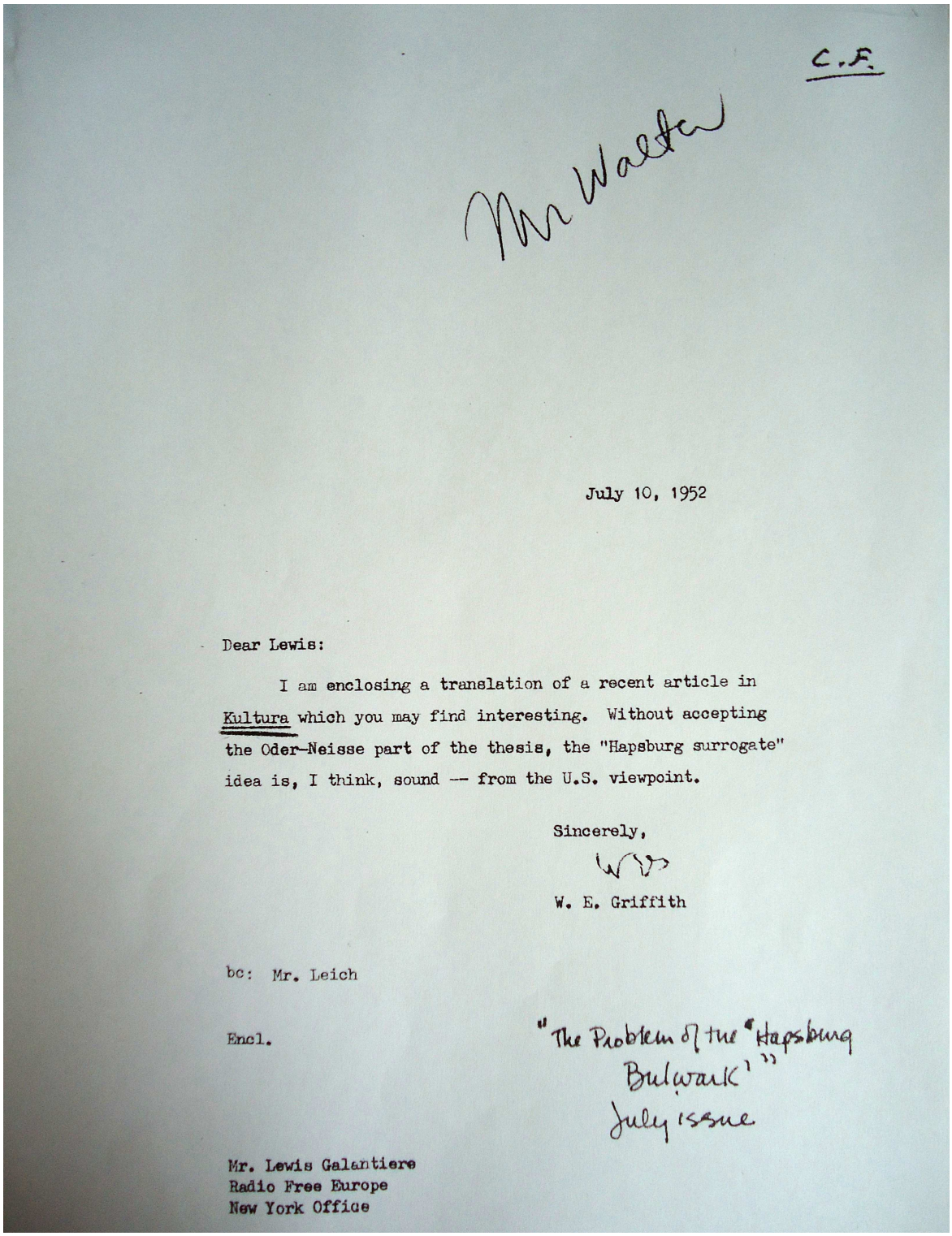
Michal RUSINEK, born in 1904, a writer of pre-war standing, secretary of the Polish PEN-Club since 1956. In an interview granted to the COPENHAGEN "Informationen" (on 16 June 1959) he defended the regime, claiming that "he himself and his senior colleagues write according to their conscience and they have never had any trouble with the authorities". He might be a regime man on the delegation.

Maria DABROWSKA, born in 1889. She is Poland's leading authoress and enjoys considerable standing also as a moral authority. D. has always been of independent mind, and also at present shows a considerable degree of independence as regards the regime's cultural policy.

Jaroslaw IWASZKIEIWCZ, born in 1894, a poet, novelist, playwright and essayist, Sejm deputy, chief editor of the literary monthly "Tworczosc", and a writer of pre-war standing. His degree of independence from the regime is perhaps lesser than that of DABROWSKA or PARANDOWSKI. He is a regime man, but still acceptable to other writers.

Wojciech NATANSON, over 60, a literary critic and essayist. Co-opted in 1957 to the Qualification Committee of the Polish Writers' Association. Even during the Stalinist period, N. never exposed himself as a follower of the regime's cultural policy methods.

Attachment 11: East European Delegates to the 30th PEN Congress in Frankfurt on the Main, 16th July, 1959. The list of Polish delegates.



C.F.

Mr Walter

July 10, 1952

Dear Lewis:

I am enclosing a translation of a recent article in Kultura which you may find interesting. Without accepting the Oder-Neisse part of the thesis, the "Hapsburg surrogate" idea is, I think, sound — from the U.S. viewpoint.

Sincerely,

W. E. Griffith

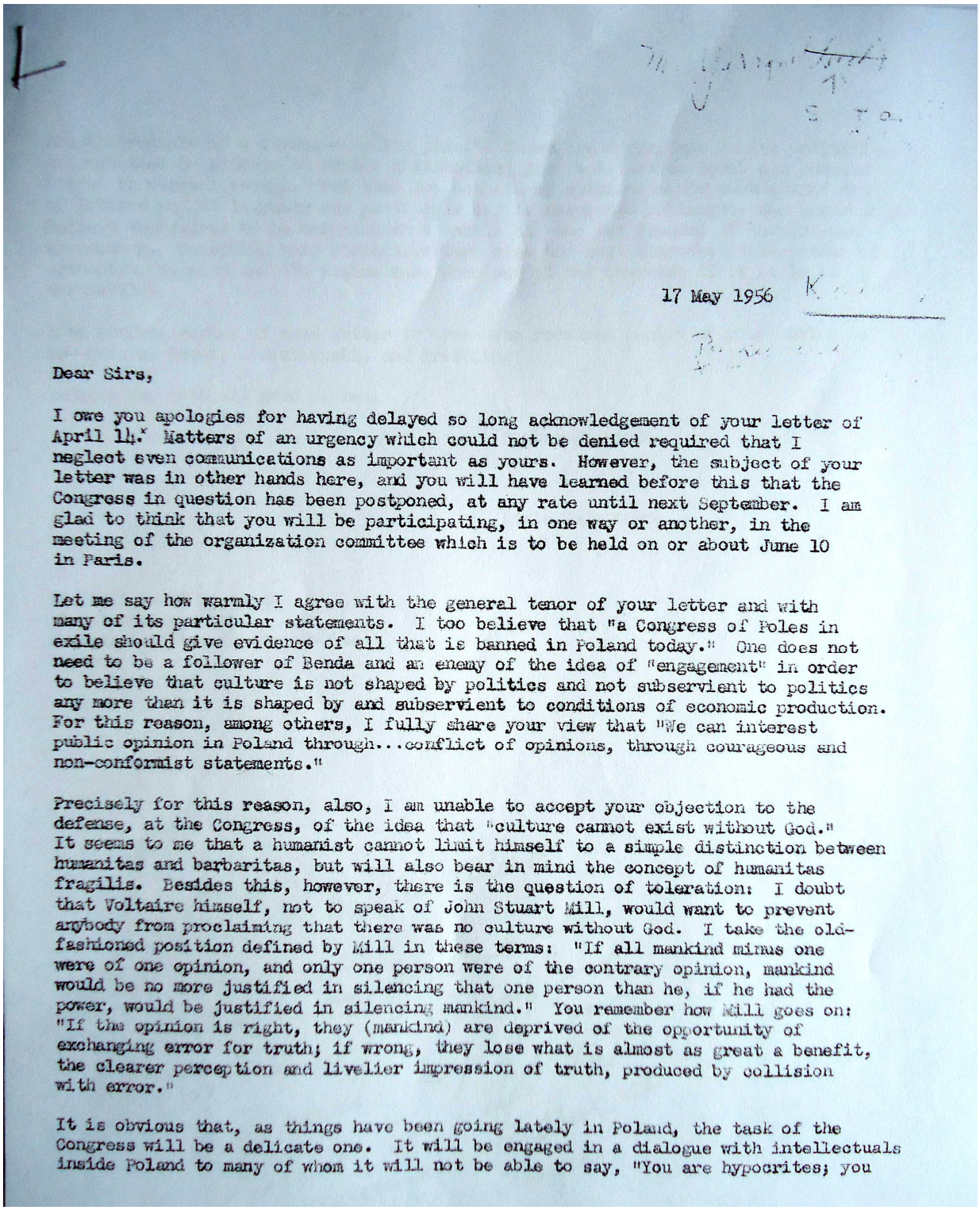
bc: Mr. Leich

Encl.

"The Problem of the "Hapsburg Bulwark"" July issue

Mr. Lewis Galantiere
Radio Free Europe
New York Office

Attachment 12: A letter from William E. Griffith to Lewis Galantière, recommending Juliusz Mieroszewski's article about the leadership role that the USA is destined to play in Europe in place of the historical Habsburg Empire (Mieroszewski 1952). Mieroszewski, a political émigré in London, believed that returning the Recovered Territories to unified Germany would have tragic consequences for Poland and would mean Germany's hegemony in Europe and the danger of a future German-Russian alliance (Mieroszewski 1952: 50-53).



17 May 1956

Dear Sirs,

I owe you apologies for having delayed so long acknowledgement of your letter of April 14.[x] Matters of an urgency which could not be denied required that I neglect even communications as important as yours. However, the subject of your letter was in other hands here, and you will have learned before this that the Congress in question has been postponed, at any rate until next September. I am glad to think that you will be participating, in one way or another, in the meeting of the organization committee which is to be held on or about June 10 in Paris.

Let me say how warmly I agree with the general tenor of your letter and with many of its particular statements. I too believe that "a Congress of Poles in exile should give evidence of all that is banned in Poland today." One does not need to be a follower of Benda and an enemy of the idea of "engagement" in order to believe that culture is not shaped by politics and not subservient to politics any more than it is shaped by and subservient to conditions of economic production. For this reason, among others, I fully share your view that "We can interest public opinion in Poland through...conflict of opinions, through courageous and non-conformist statements."

Precisely for this reason, also, I am unable to accept your objection to the defense, at the Congress, of the idea that "culture cannot exist without God." It seems to me that a humanist cannot limit himself to a simple distinction between humanitas and barbaritas, but will also bear in mind the concept of humanitas fragilis. Besides this, however, there is the question of toleration: I doubt that Voltaire himself, not to speak of John Stuart Mill, would want to prevent anybody from proclaiming that there was no culture without God. I take the old-fashioned position defined by Mill in these terms: "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind." You remember how Mill goes on: "If the opinion is right, they (mankind) are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by collision with error."

It is obvious that, as things have been going lately in Poland, the task of the Congress will be a delicate one. It will be engaged in a dialogue with intellectuals inside Poland to many of whom it will not be able to say, "You are hypocrites; you

Attachment 13: A letter from Lewis Galantière, Political Adviser in the Free Europe Committee, to Jerzy Giedroyc, approved by Bernard Yarrow, Vice-President of the FEC. In the letter Galantière discusses the idea of organising the Congress of Free Polish Culture, to be promoted by the slogan: "culture cannot exist without God." For Giedroyc's reply see Attachment 7 (pp. 380-383).

are instruments of a Soviet-inspired plan." These are words that émigré politicians are entitled to address to regime politicians; the fact that an Ochab can succeed Bierut is warrant enough. But they are not (in my opinion) words that émigré men of letters and of learning can profitably say to respected colleagues who presumably believe themselves to be carrying on a battle at home for freedom of thought and expression. Something more persuasive than even the most eloquent denunciation of communism, atheism and the regime must come out of the Congress if it is to be worthwhile.

I am sending copies of this letter to those who received copies of your letter to me—Messrs. Nowak, Wierzbianski, and Griffith.

Believe me, with all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

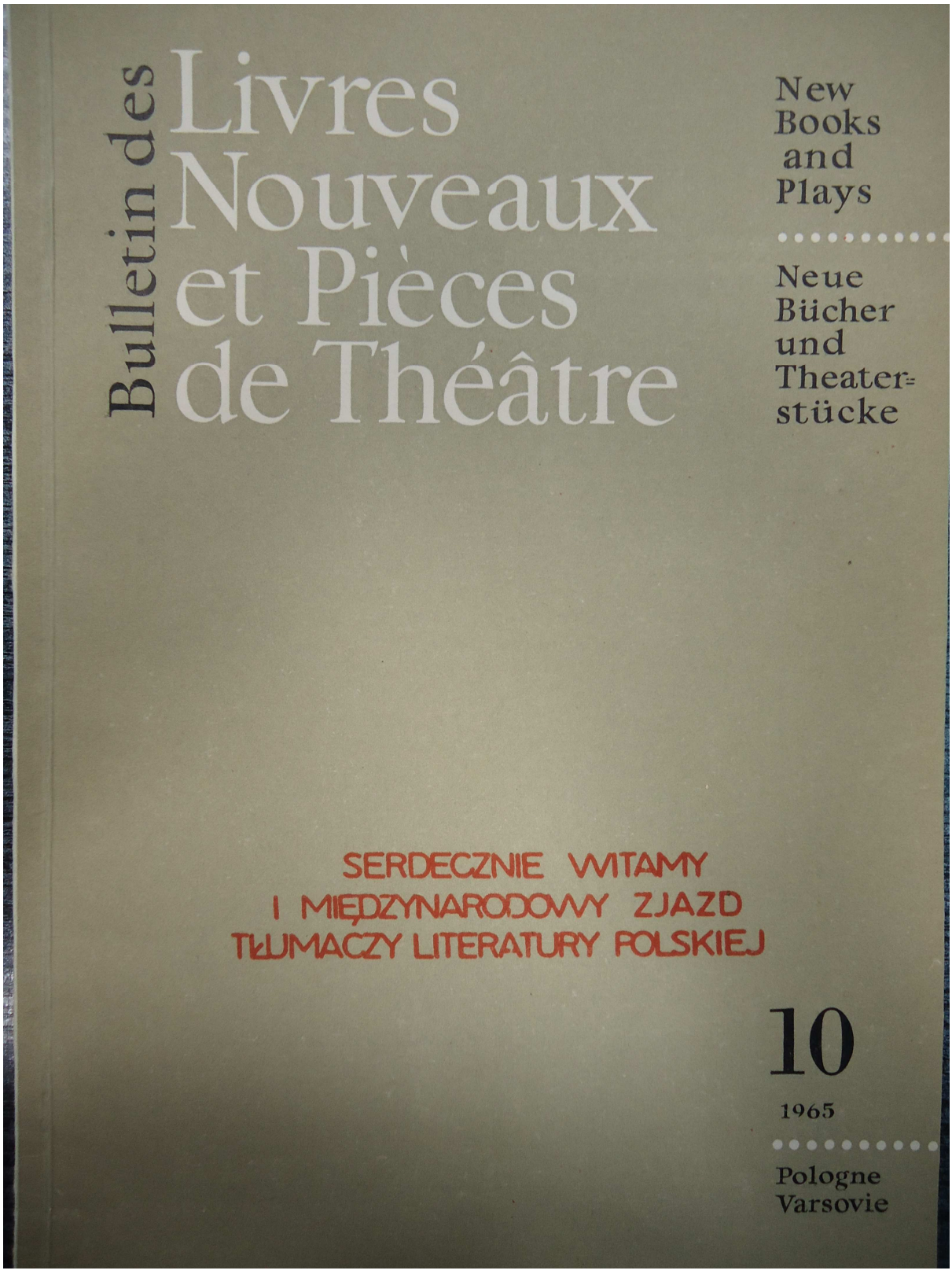
Lewis Galantière

The Editors of Kultura
91, Avenue de Poissy
Maisons-Laffitte (Seine-et-Oise)
France

To Mr. Galantière

This is an excellent letter
& I know it is timely and
a great help in our
effort to create the
appropriate Cultural at
the Polish Congress

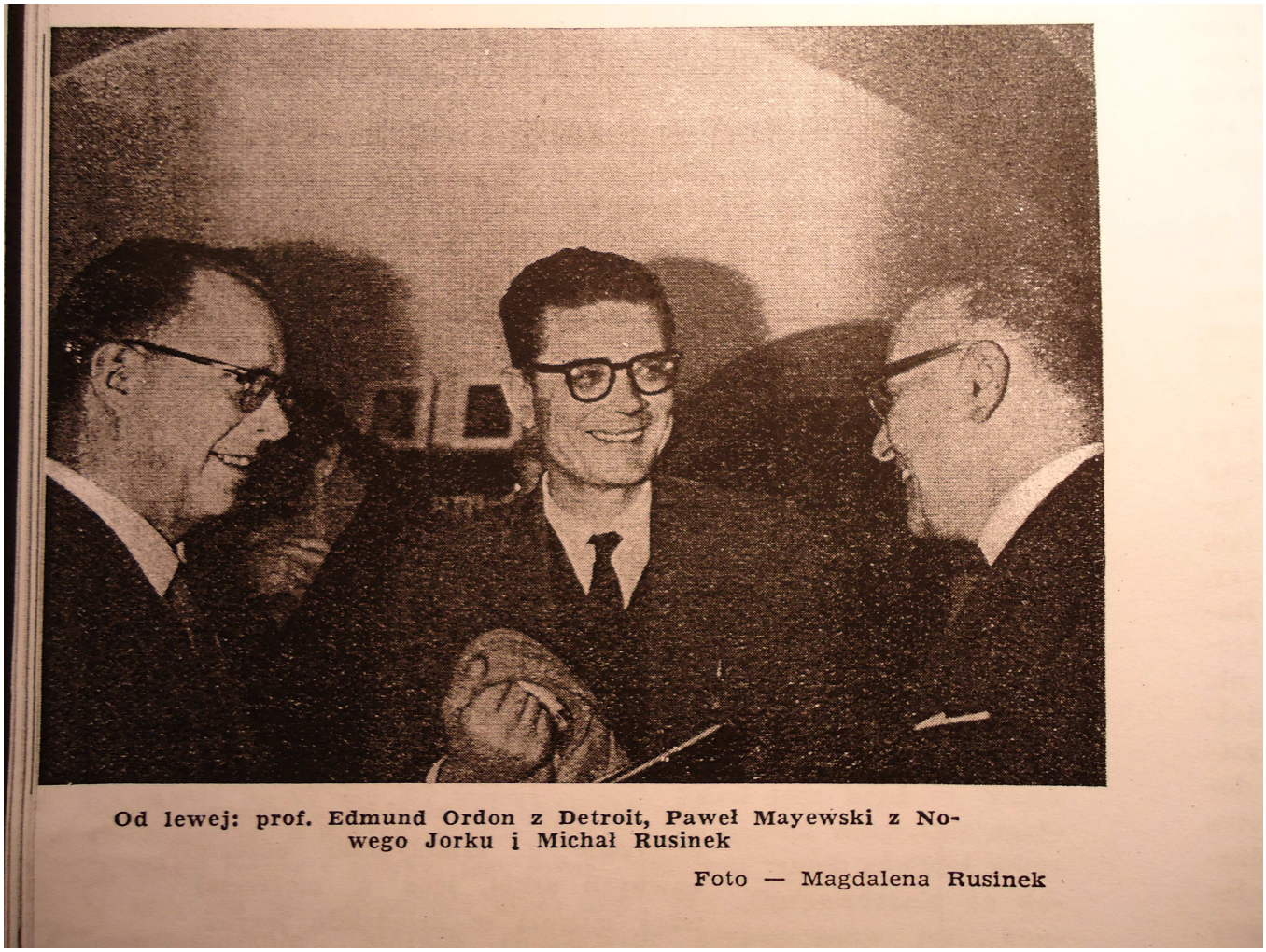
By



Attachment 14: *Bulletin of New Books and Plays,* October 1965.

Attachment 15: The 1st International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature in Warsaw, November 1965: The Opening Session.

Left to right: Stanisław Ryszard Dobrowolski, the President of ZAiKS, Michał Rusinek, the Director of the Author's Agency, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, the President of the Polish Writers' Union, Jan Parandowski, the President of the Polish PEN Club and Zlatko Gorjan, the President of FIT. In the background a map showing the number of translations of Polish literature into foreign languages published between 1945-1965. Renditions of books written by Polish émigrés were not taken into account.

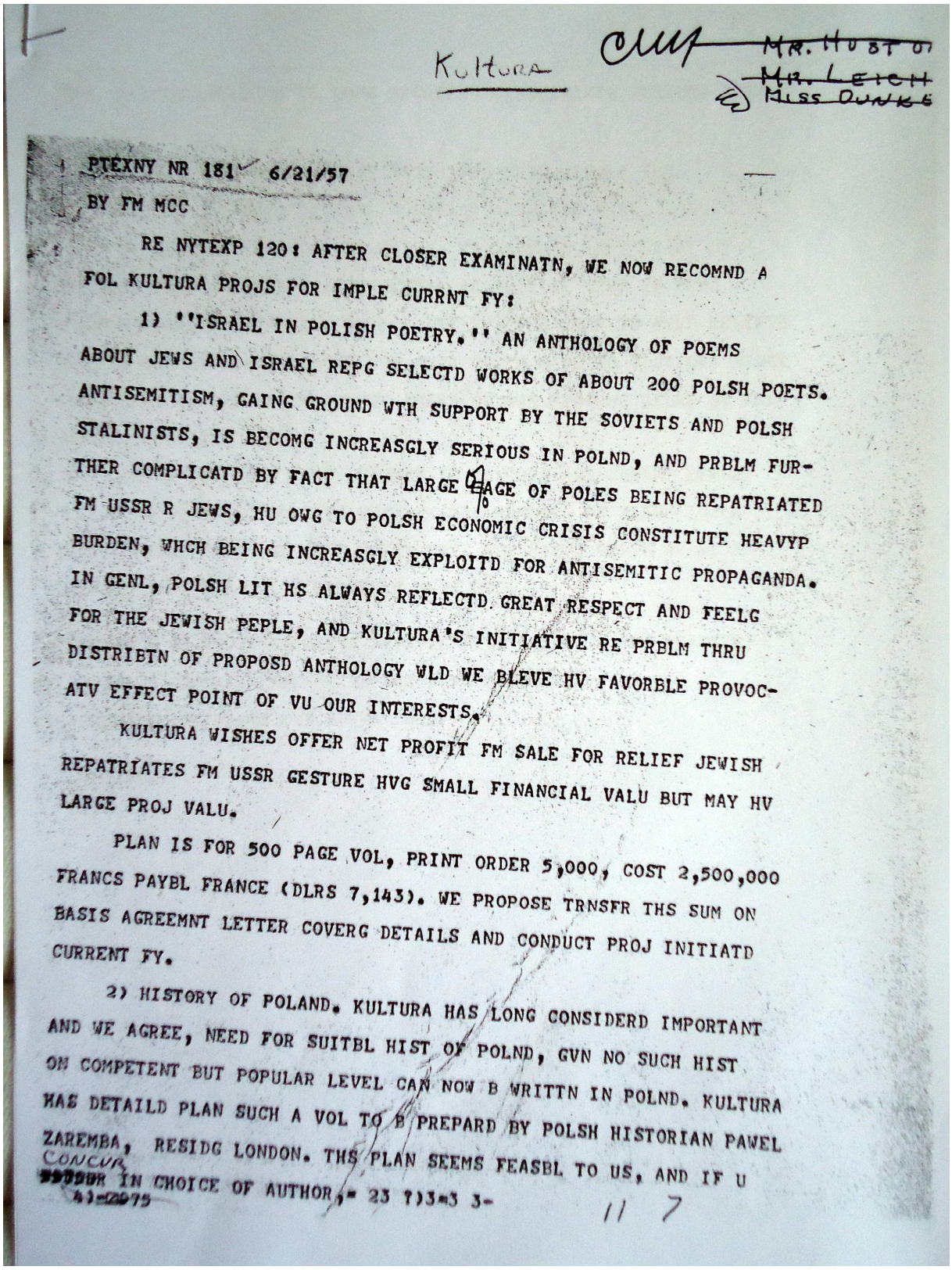


Od lewej: prof. Edmund Ordon z Detroit, Paweł Mayewski z Nowego Jorku i Michał Rusinek

Foto — Magdalena Rusinek

Attachment 16: The 1st International Congress of Translators of Polish Literature in Warsaw, November 1965.

Left to right: Edmund Ordon, Paweł Mayewski and Michał Rusinek.



Kultura

MR. HUSTON
MR. LEICH
MISS DUNKE

PTEXNY NR 181 6/21/57
BY FM MCC

RE NYTEXP 120: AFTER CLOSER EXAMINATN, WE NOW RECOMND A FOL KULTURA PROJS FOR IMPLE CURRNT FY:

1) "ISRAEL IN POLISH POETRY." AN ANTHOLOGY OF POEMS ABOUT JEWS AND ISRAEL REPG SELECTD WORKS OF ABOUT 200 POLSH POETS. ANTISEMITISM, GAING GROUND WTH SUPPORT BY THE SOVIETS AND POLSH STALINISTS, IS BECOMG INCREASGLY SERIOUS IN POLND, AND PRBLM FURTHER COMPLICATD BY FACT THAT LARGE PAGE OF POLES BEING REPATRIATED FM USSR R JEWS, HU OWG TO POLSH ECONOMIC CRISIS CONSTITUTE HEAVYP BURDEN, WHCH BEING INCREASGLY EXPLOITD FOR ANTISEMITIC PROPAGANDA. IN GENL, POLSH LIT HS ALWAYS REFLECTD GREAT RESPECT AND FEELG FOR THE JEWISH PEPLE, AND KULTURA'S INITIATIVE RE PRBLM THRU DISTRIBTN OF PROPOSD ANTHOLOGY WLD WE BLEVE HV FAVORBLE PROVOCATV EFFECT POINT OF VU OUR INTERESTS.

KULTURA WISHES OFFER NET PROFIT FM SALE FOR RELIEF JEWISH REPATRIATES FM USSR GESTURE HVG SMALL FINANCIAL VALU BUT MAY HV LARGE PROJ VALU.

PLAN IS FOR 500 PAGE VOL, PRINT ORDER 5,000, COST 2,500,000 FRANCS PAYBL FRANCE (DLRS 7,143). WE PROPOSE TRNSFR THS SUM ON BASIS AGREEMNT LETTER COVERG DETAILS AND CONDUCT PROJ INITIATD CURRENT FY.

2) HISTORY OF POLAND. KULTURA HAS LONG CONSIDERD IMPORTANT AND WE AGREE, NEED FOR SUITBL HIST OF POLND, GVN NO SUCH HIST ON COMPETENT BUT POPULAR LEVEL CAN NOW B WRITTN IN POLND. KULTURA HAS DETAILD PLAN SUCH A VOL TO B PREPARD BY POLSH HISTORIAN PAWEL ZAREMBA, RESIDG LONDON. THS PLAN SEEMS FEASBL TO US, AND IF U CONCUR IN CHOICE OF AUTHOR,

11 7

Attachment 17: A message concerning *Kultura* publishing projects sponsored by the Free Europe Committee. The Polish-language anthology *Izrael w poezji polskiej* (Israel in Polish Poetry) was among the books selected for publication.

PARTICULARLY IN VU LONG BKGROUND DISCUSN WTH KULTURA IDEA OF SUCH AWVOL.

PRINT ORDER 5,000, COST 1,050,000 FRCS PAYBLE FRCS (DLRS 3,000), TRNSFRD ON BASIS SIMLAR AGREEMNT PARA 1 ABOVE.

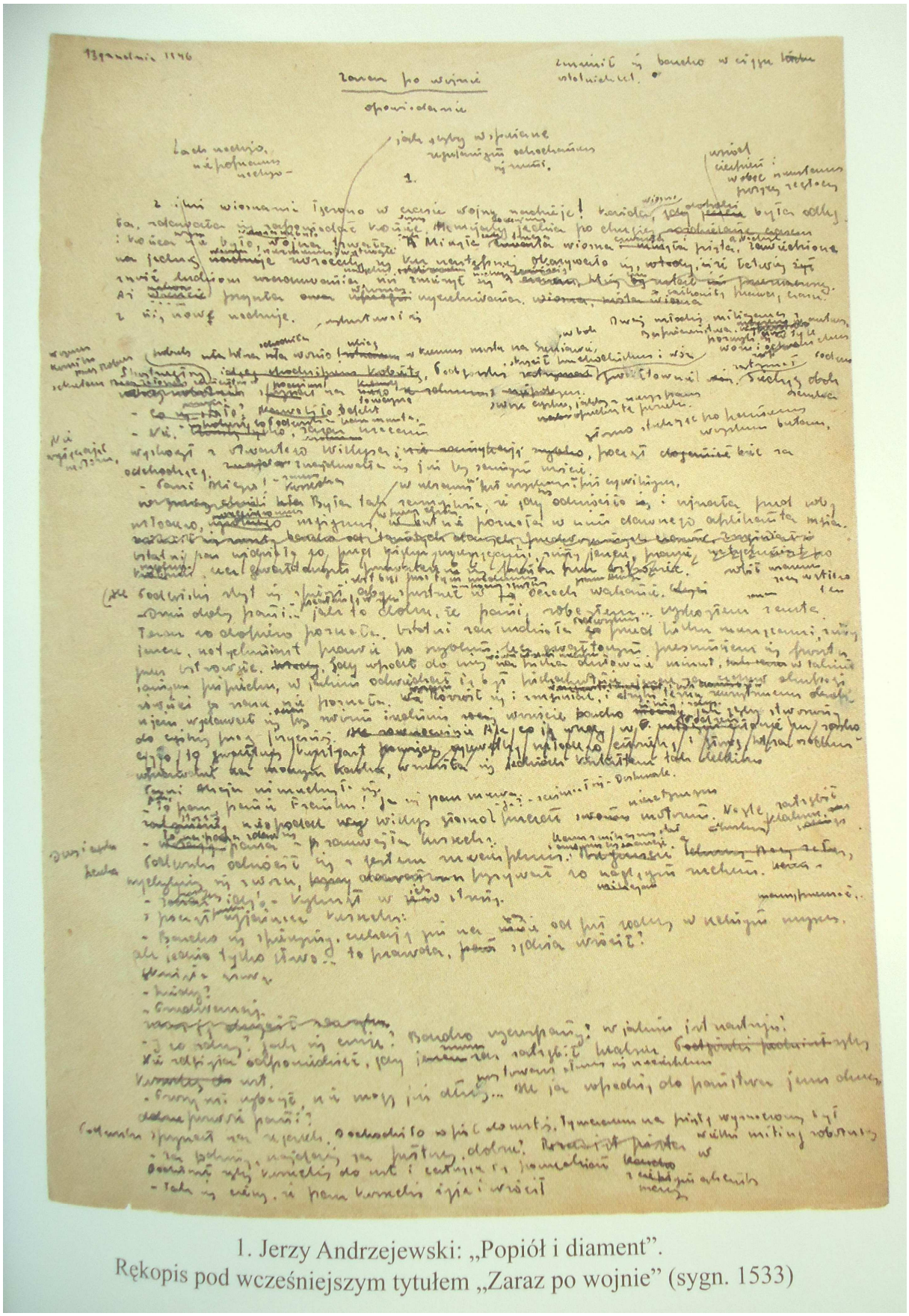
3) GIFT BOOKS AND PUBLICATNS. WE PROPOSE IMMY GRANT OF 175,000 FRCS (DLRS 500) TOWKULTURA AS INITIAL STEP IN PROJ PROPOSD PARA FOUR PTEXNY 10 FOR NXT FY, THS STEP TO HELP RELIEVE STRAIN ON KULTURA FINANCES DUE SUCH GIFTS MADE TO VISITORS SINCE JAN, THUS ENABLG KULTURA MOVE AHEAD ON OWN PROGRMS DELAD BY NECESSTY MAKE SUCH GIFTS.

IN VU OUR LONG TERM INTERST IN KULTURA AND CURRNT EFFORT LEADG TO CLOSER COOPERATN MOST FEASBL MANNER, WE BLEVE IMPLE ABOVE PROJS THS HIME VERY USEFL MOVE OUR PART, QUITE APART FM MERITS EACH PROJECT SEPARATELY. END MSG.

DJ

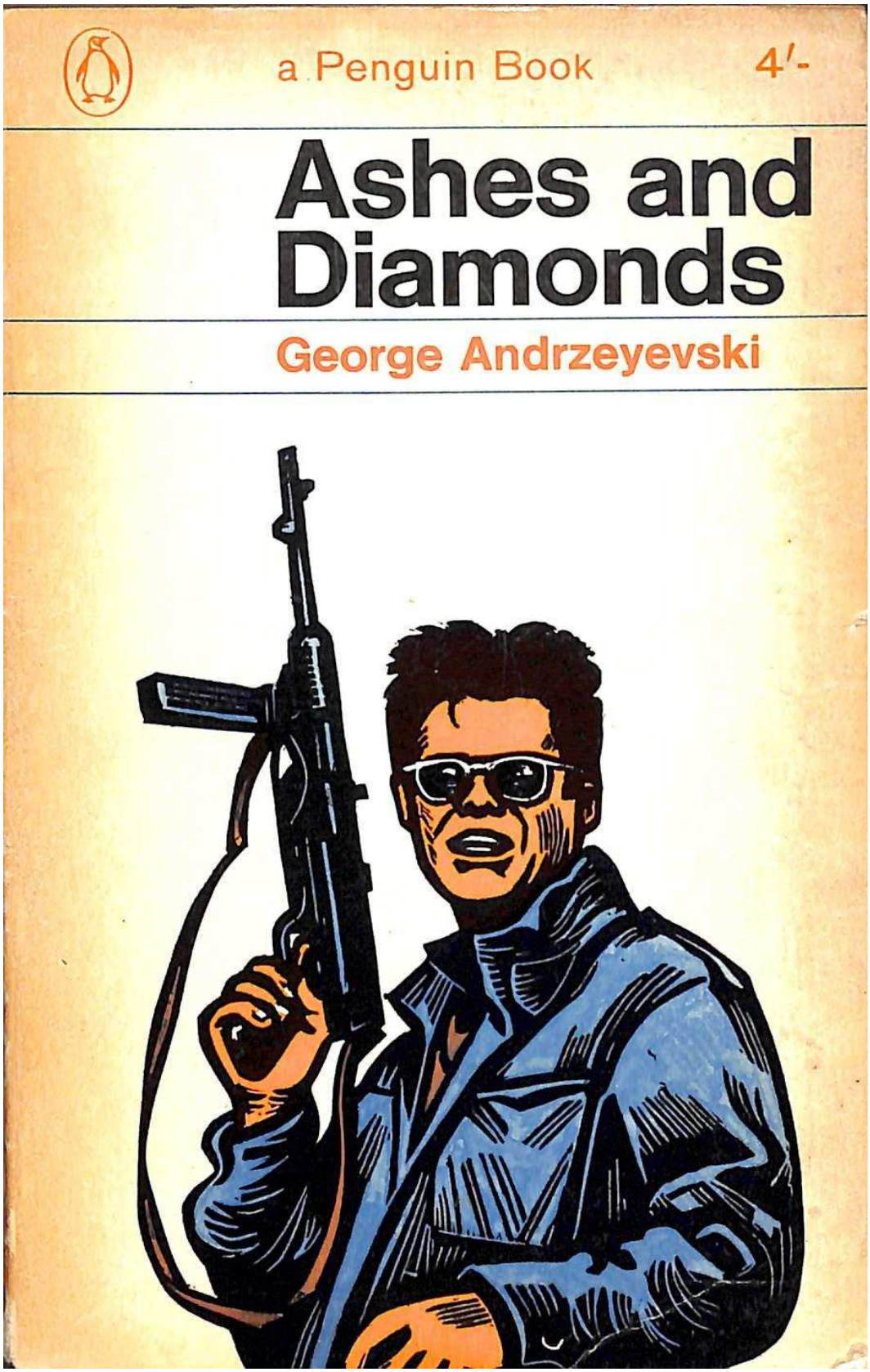
CORRECTN ON ABOVE GARBLE: PAYABLE FRCS DLARS 3000 TRANSFRD ON BASIS SIMILAR AGREMNT PAPEEE PARA ONE ABOVE PAREN BEFORE DLARS AND AFTER 3000

CONTINUING

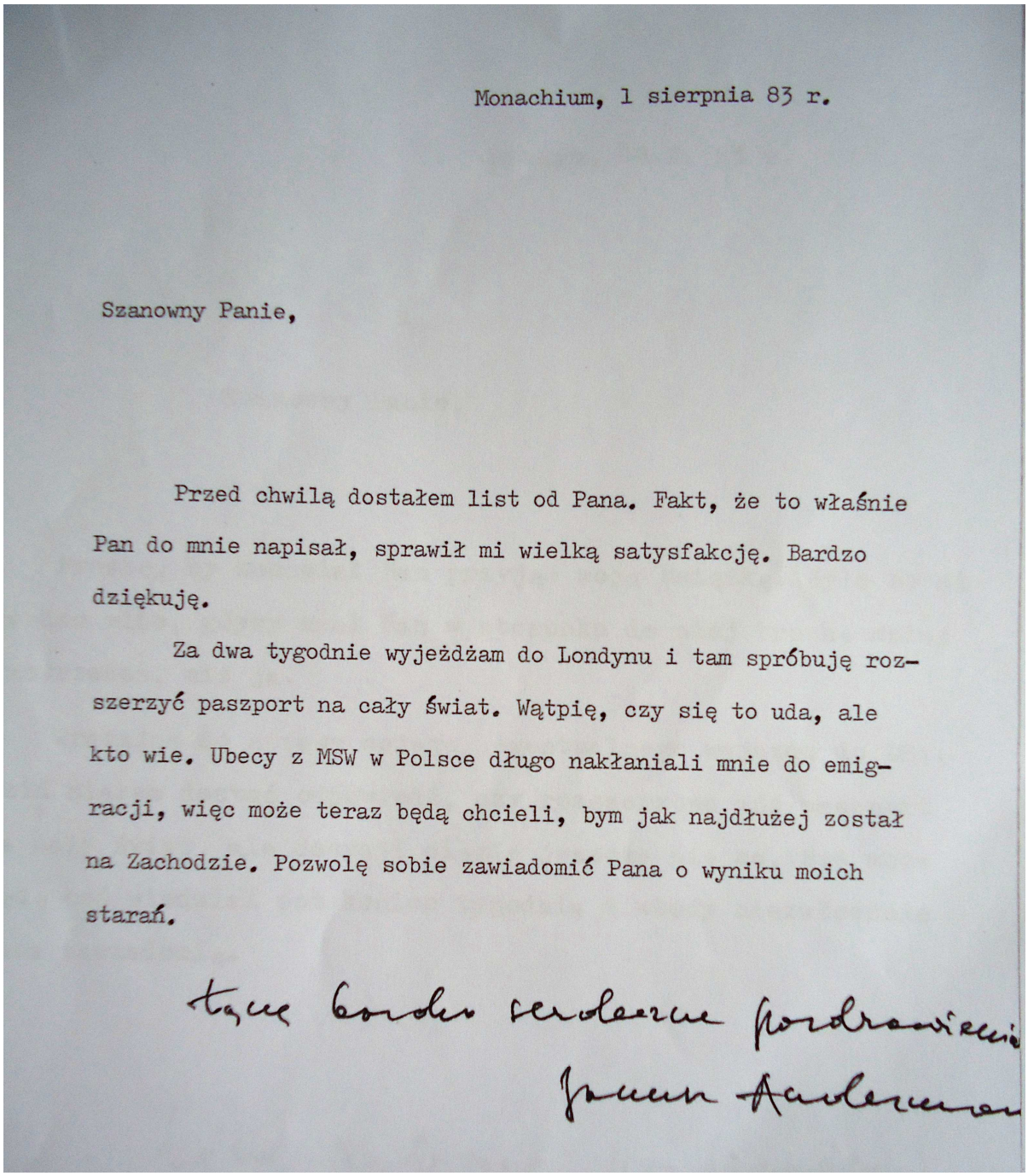


1. Jerzy Andrzejewski: „Popiół i diament".
Rękopis pod wcześniejszym tytułem „Zaraz po wojnie" (sygn. 1533)

Attachment 18: A facsimile of Jerzy Andrzejewski's manuscript of *Popiół i diament* (*Ashes and Diamonds*), originally entitled *Zaraz po wojnie* (Right After the War).



Attachment 19: Zbigniew Cybulski as Maciek Chełmicki, a graphic transposition of a still from Andrzej Wajda's film based on Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Ashes and Diamonds*.



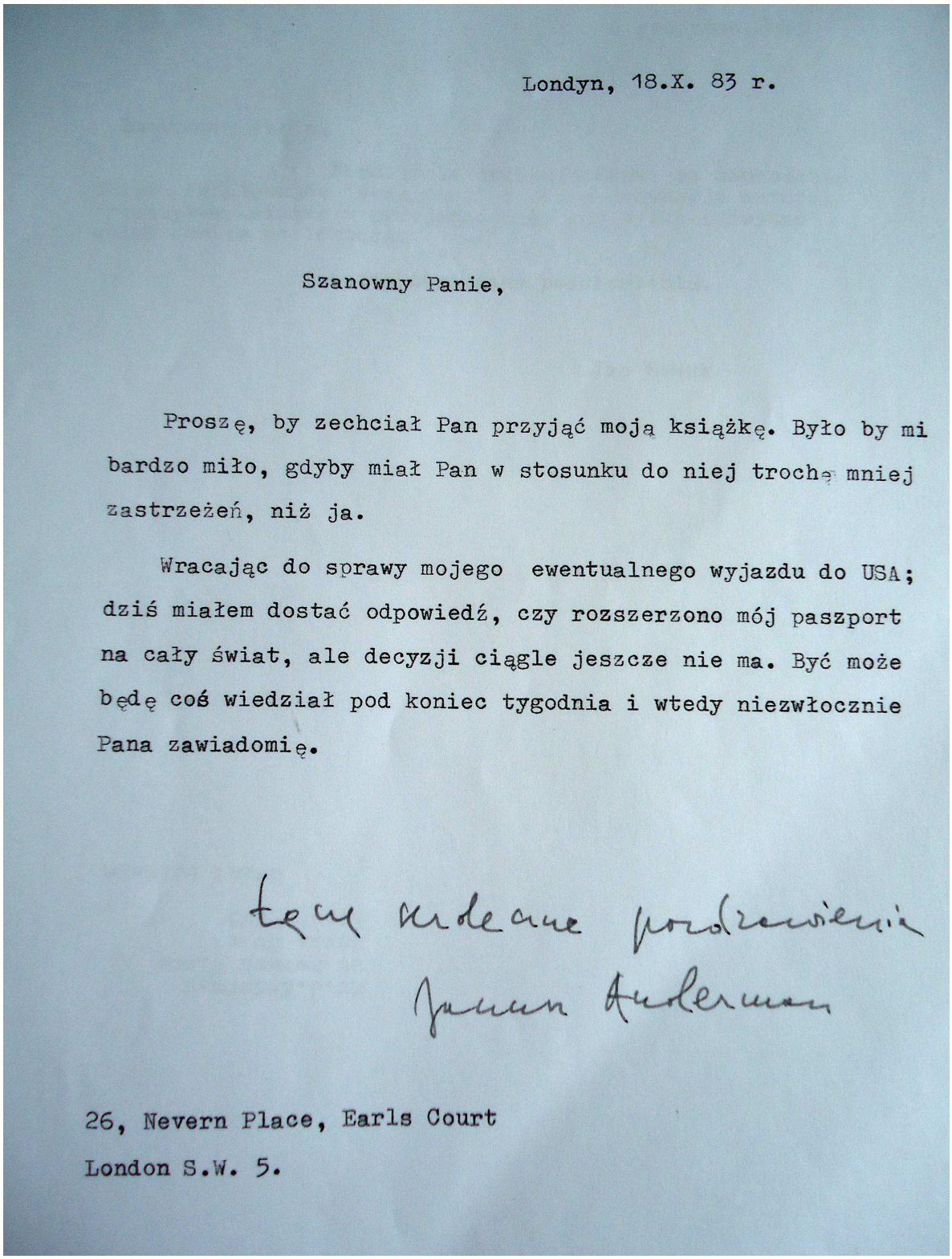
Monachium, 1 sierpnia 83 r.

Szanowny Panie,

Przed chwilą dostałem list od Pana. Fakt, że to właśnie Pan do mnie napisał, sprawił mi wielką satysfakcję. Bardzo dziękuję.

Za dwa tygodnie wyjeżdżam do Londynu i tam spróbuję rozszerzyć paszport na cały świat. Wątpię, czy się to uda, ale kto wie. Ubecy z MSW w Polsce długo nakłaniali mnie do emigracji, więc może teraz będą chcieli, bym jak najdłużej został na Zachodzie. Pozwolę sobie zawiadomić Pana o wyniku moich starań.

Attachment 20: A letter from Janusz Anderman to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, in which the writer informs Nowak-Jeziorański about his plans to leave Munich for London. On this occasion he states: “In two weeks I’m leaving for London and while there I’ll try to extend the validity of my passport for the whole world. I doubt if I’ll succeed, but who knows. In Poland, Security Service lackeys took a long time to convince me to emigration, so they might want me to stay as long as possible in the West now. I’ll let you know about the outcome of my efforts.” (trans. mine)



Londyn, 18.X. 83 r.

Szanowny Panie,

Proszę, by zechciał Pan przyjąć moją książkę. Było by mi bardzo miło, gdyby miał Pan w stosunku do niej trochę mniej zastrzeżeń, niż ja.

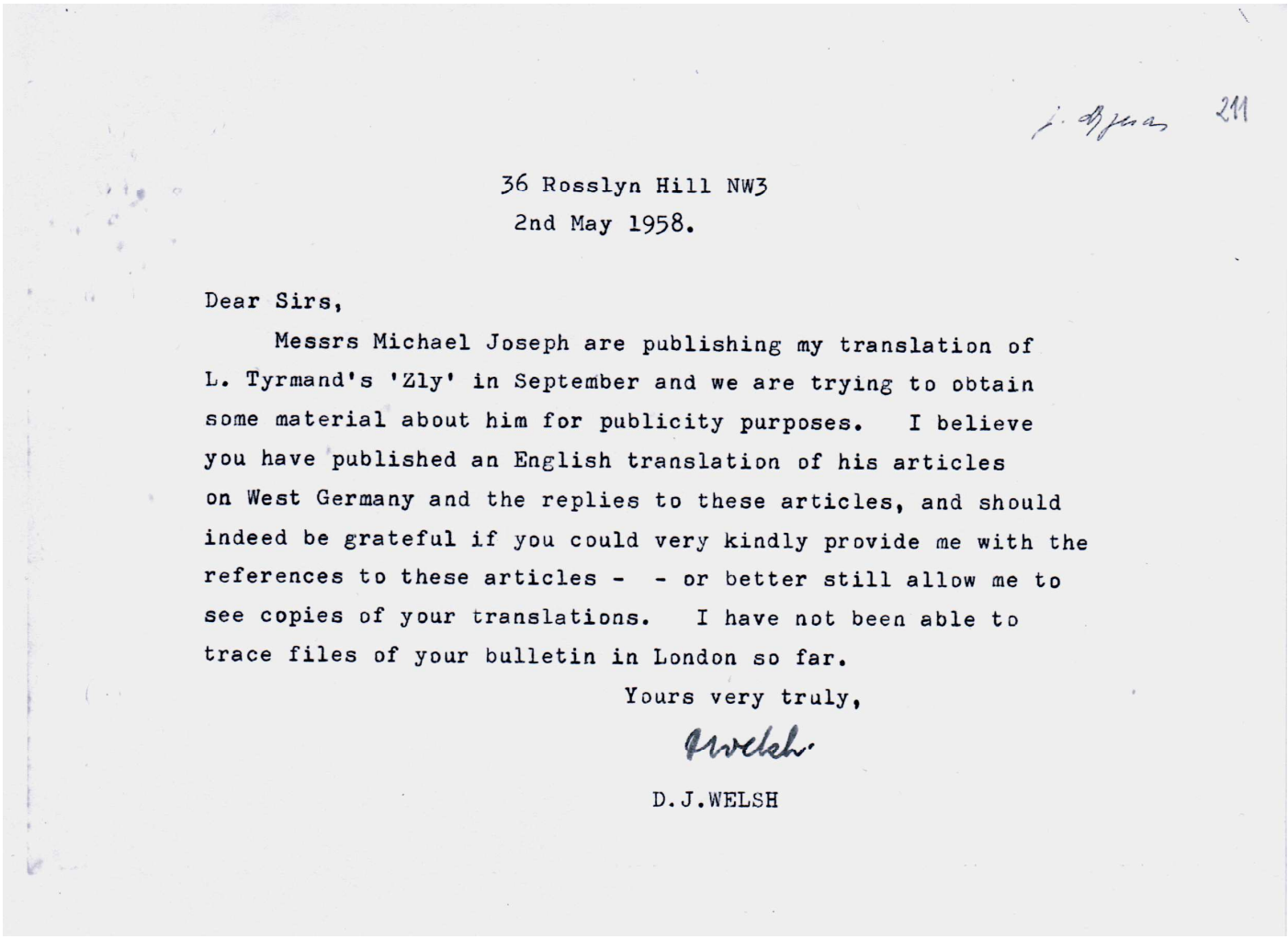
Wracając do sprawy mojego ewentualnego wyjazdu do USA; dziś miałem dostać odpowiedź, czy rozszerzono mój paszport na cały świat, ale decyzji ciągle jeszcze nie ma. Być może będę coś wiedział pod koniec tygodnia i wtedy niezwłocznie Pana zawiadomię.

tego rodzaju pozdrowienia

Janusz Anderman

26, Nevern Place, Earls Court
London S.W. 5.

Attachment 21: A letter from Janusz Anderman to Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, to which Anderman enclosed his book *Brak tchu* (1983), newly-published in London by Puls Publications. The book appeared in English as *Poland Under Black Light: With the Author's New Story from Warsaw* (1985), translated by Nina Taylor and Andrew Short and brought out in London and New York by Readers International.



36 Rosslyn Hill NW3
2nd May 1958.

Dear Sirs,

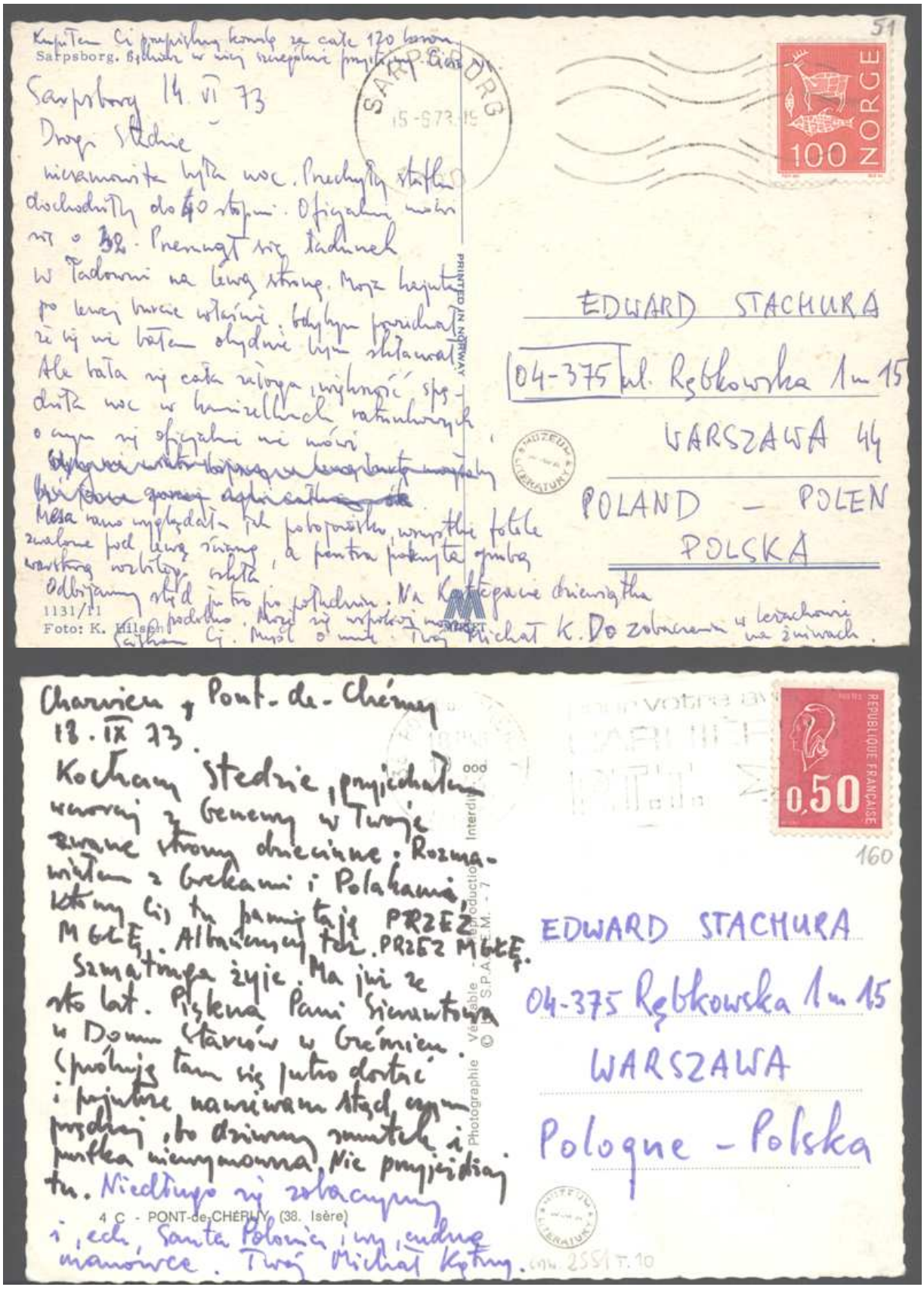
Messrs Michael Joseph are publishing my translation of L. Tyrmand's 'Zly' in September and we are trying to obtain some material about him for publicity purposes. I believe you have published an English translation of his articles on West Germany and the replies to these articles, and should indeed be grateful if you could very kindly provide me with the references to these articles - - or better still allow me to see copies of your translations. I have not been able to trace files of your bulletin in London so far.

Yours very truly,

Welsh.

D.J.WELSH

Attachment 22: David John Welsh's letter to the Polish desk of Radio Free Europe, in which the translator asks for information about Leopold Tyrmand and mentions Tyrmand's conciliatory articles on West Germany.

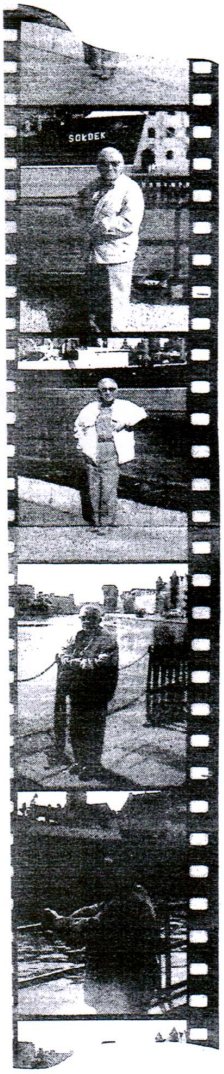


Attachment 23: Postcards which Edward Stachura sent to himself as Michał Kątny.

Tadeusz Różewicz

biedny poeta Stachura

niedaleko brudnego koryta
rzeki Wisły
pasło się stado świń i wieprzy
pospołu z dziećmi Apollina



do tej stołówki
przyjechał z dalekiej krainy
Janko muzykant chłopiec opętany poezją
rzucał perły przed wieprze
śpiewał grał na [redacted] złotym grzebieniu
aż usłyszał głosy
i oszalał

był jak motyl
w pajęczynie

rozmawiałem z nim
raz w życiu
w jakimś domu pracy twórczej
stangret w drzwiach
mojego pokoju
i poprosił o kartkę
papieru

powiedziałem że mam
tylko papier z makulatury
w kratkę
uśmiechnął się grzecznie
podziękował
odszedł
z trzema kartkami

czasem myślę że chodziło mu
o coś innego

że chodziło o jego i moje
o nasze życie

wrzesień 2003 r.

Attachment 24: The manuscript of the poem “biedny poeta Stachura” by Tadeusz Różewicz.

Red Rumpus CONTINUED

DUPES AND FELLOW TRAVELERS DRESS UP COMMUNIST FRONTS

Offhand it might seem that a propaganda meeting like the one in New York last week would have been regarded by almost all Americans with scorn. But the Communists prepare carefully for such eventualities. Their weapons are the fellow traveler and the so-called "innocent dupe." These are the prominent people who, wittingly or not, associate themselves with a Communist-front organization and thereby lend it glamor, prestige or the respectability of American liberalism. Fifty of these people are shown on these pages. They are not the most notorious 50 but a representative selection ranging from hard-working fellow travelers to soft-headed do-gooders who have persistently lent their names to

JO DAVIDSON
Sculptor

DOROTHY PARKER
Writer

GUY EMERY SHIPLER
Editor of "The Churchman"

VITO MARCANTONIO
U.S. congressman

ARTHUR MILLER
Playwright

RUSSELL NIXON
Labor lobbyist

HENRY W. L. DANA
Writer

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL JR.
U.S. congressman

KIRTLEY F. MATHER
Geologist

C. B. BALDWIN
Wallace party secretary

LANGSTON HUGHES
Poet

PAUL L. ROSS
Lawyer

ALBERT EINSTEIN
Physicist

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
Labor union president

HENRY P. FAIRCHILD
Sociology professor emeritus

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
Unitarian clergyman

RALPH BARTON PERRY
Philosophy professor

J. RAYMOND WALSH
Radio commentator

WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD
Episcopal clergyman

MARK VAN DOREN
Poet

MAUD SLYE
Pathologist

CLIFFORD ODETS
Playwright

AARON COPELAND
Composer

LEONARD BERNSTEIN
Composer and conductor

EDWARD L. PARSONS
Episcopal bishop

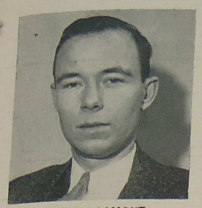
42

Attachment 25: "Red Visitors Cause Rumpus," *Life* 1949, 14, 39-43.

organizations labeled by the U.S. Attorney General or other government agencies as subversive.

In the beginning such people were prominent liberals who were lured into sponsoring or joining organizations that seemed American enough at the time. When the Moscow-directed line emerged, numerous liberals quit. But others like those below stuck it out. Some of them were receptive to shrewd Communistic persuasiveness. Some in high position stubbornly ignored their critics in the honest belief that there would eventually be a meeting of minds. Still others cynically pursued a personal ambition, thinking that the Communists could help them along in their careers. Not a few became so notorious that they were accused of being actual members of the party. Some of those pictured here publicly and sincerely repudiate Communism, but this does not alter the fact that they are of great use to the Communist cause.

Indeed membership would damage their special usefulness. Innocently or not, they accomplish quite as much for the Kremlin in their glamorous way as a card holder does in his drab toil. The Communist-front organizations have been exposed often enough, however, so that by now the perennial joiner whose friends try to excuse him because he is "just a dupe," is clearly a superdupe.

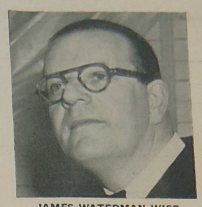


CORLISS LAMONT
Writer, philanthropist

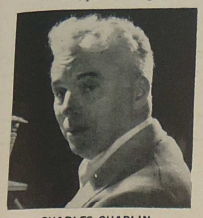
ARTHUR UPHAM POPE
Authority on Persian art

SUSAN B. ANTHONY II
Grandniece of suffragist

NORMAN MAILER
Novelist



JAMES WATERMAN WISE
Author son of Rabbi Wise



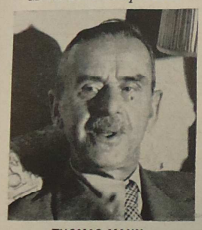
CHARLES CHAPLIN
Movie actor and producer

PHILIP MORRISON
Atomic physicist

OLIN DOWNES
Music critic

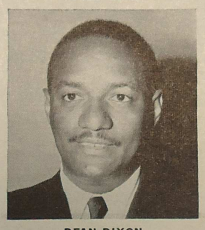
O. JOHN ROGGE
Lawyer

LYMAN R. BRADLEY
Professor of German



THOMAS MANN
Novelist

VIDA D. SCUDDER
English professor emeritus



DEAN DIXON
Orchestra conductor

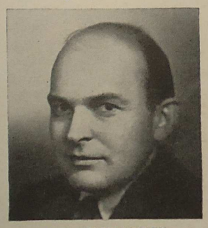
KENNETH LESLIE
Editor of "The Protestant"

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
Political science professor

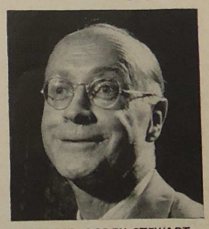
HARLOW SHAPLEY
Astronomer

WILLIAM ROSE BENET
Poet

WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH
Engineering prof. emeritus

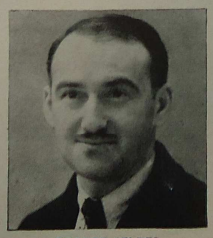


F. O. MATTHIESSEN
History professor



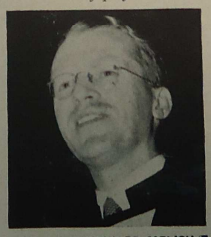
DONALD OGDEN STEWART
Writer

LOUIS UNTERMEYER
Poet



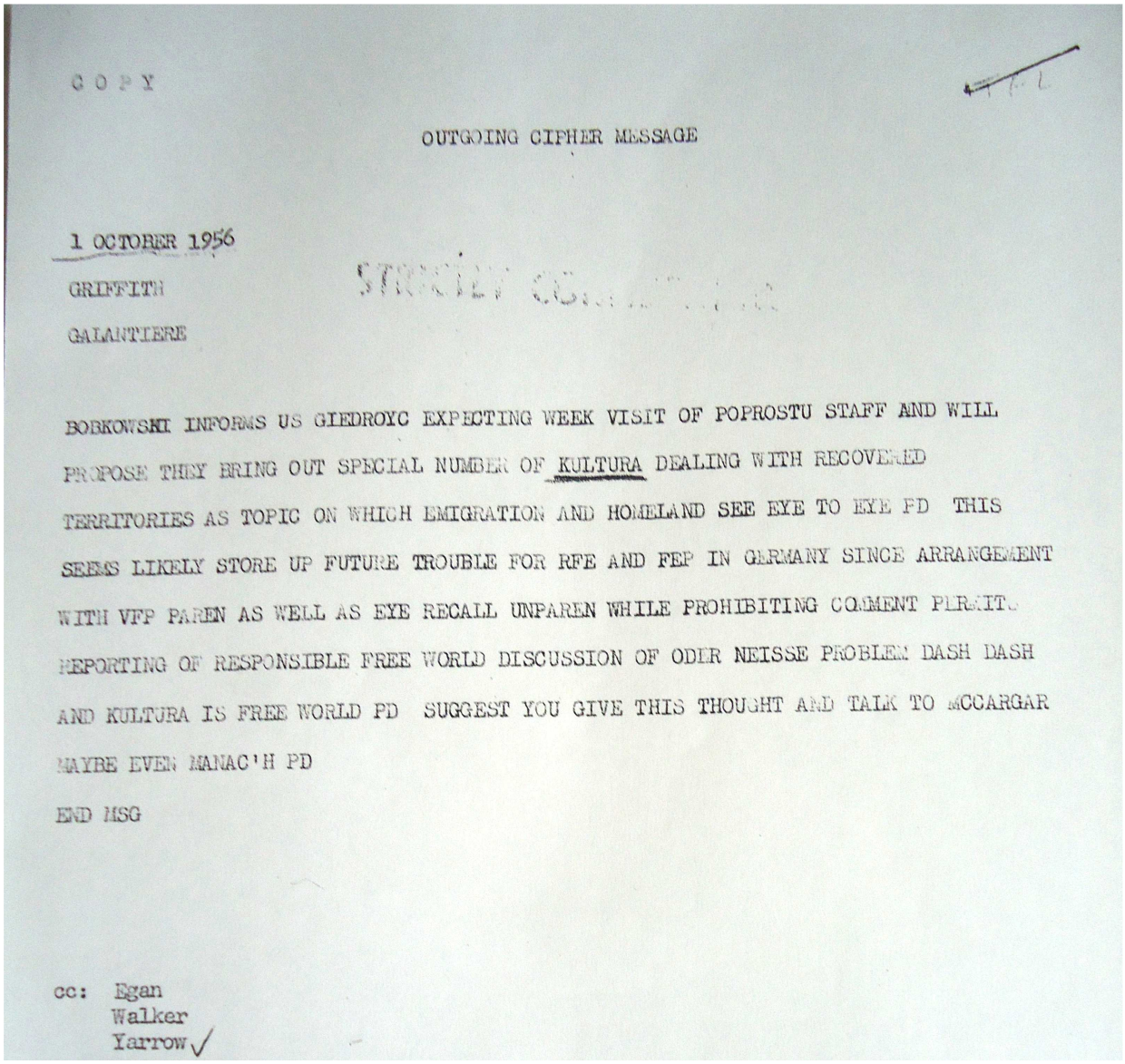
GEORGE SELDES
Editor

LILLIAN HELLMAN
Playwright



WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH
Episcopal clergyman

GENE WELTFISH
Anthropologist



COPY

OUTGOING CIPHER MESSAGE

1 OCTOBER 1956

GRIFFITH

GALANTIERE

BOBKOWSKI INFORMS US GIEDROYC EXPECTING WEEK VISIT OF POPROSTU STAFF AND WILL PROPOSE THEY BRING OUT SPECIAL NUMBER OF KULTURA DEALING WITH RECOVERED TERRITORIES AS TOPIC ON WHICH EMIGRATION AND HOMELAND SEE EYE TO EYE PD THIS SEEMS LIKELY STORE UP FUTURE TROUBLE FOR RFE AND FEP IN GERMANY SINCE ARRANGEMENT WITH VFP PAREN AS WELL AS EYE RECALL UNPAREN WHILE PROHIBITING COMMENT PERMIT REPORTING OF RESPONSIBLE FREE WORLD DISCUSSION OF ODER NEISSE PROBLEM DASH DASH AND KULTURA IS FREE WORLD PD SUGGEST YOU GIVE THIS THOUGHT AND TALK TO MCCARGAR MAYBE EVEN MANAC'H PD

END MSG

cc: Egan
Walker
Yarrow

Attachment 26: A strictly confidential message from Lewis Galantière to William E. Griffith (carbon copies sent to W. J. Convery Egan, Samuel S. Walker and Bernard Yarrow), in which Galantière expresses his concern about the mutual understanding between Polish émigrés and Poles at home on the topic of Recovered Territories, which, according to Poles on both sides of the Iron Curtain, should remain as part of Poland.

Attachment 27: “We All Read Dead People” an advertising slogan of Główna Księgarnia Naukowa in Kraków, Krupnicza Street, 2011.

Attachment Sources

Attachments 1-2:
https://mikemcclaughry.files.wordpress.com/2014/12/cia-rdp80b01676r004100040001-4.pdf

Attachments 3-9:
Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's collection, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław, Manuscripts Department, sign. 203/00.

Attachment 10:
Front cover of Yale Richmond's *Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey*, New York, NY; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008.

Attachment 11:
RFE News & Information Service – Evaluation & Research Section, 16th July 1959. "An information bulletin produced by RFE based on extensive monitoring of communist bloc news outlets and primarily intended for internal circulation." http://www.europeana.eu/portal/record/2022062/10891_osa_ce4b2d7d_3604_4fd9_bdca_61456ec13ed0.html

Attachments 12-13:
Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's collection, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław, Manuscripts Department, sign. 203/00.

Attachment 14:
Front cover of *Bulletin of New Books and Plays* (*Bulletin des livres nouveaux et pièces de théâtre* / *Bulletin literarischer Neuerscheinungen und Theaterstücke*), October 1965. The bulletin was published between 1958-1969 by the Polish PEN Club in co-operation with the Polish Society of Authors and Composers ZAiKS.

Attachment 15:
Literatura polska w świecie: [wystawa]; MBP im. E. Raczyńskiego: [informator], Poznań: Wydawnictwo Artystyczno-Graficzne RSW "Prasa-Książka-Ruch," 1974.

Attachment 16:

Kwartalnik Informacyjny ZAiKS, 11, October-December 1965, p. 44. Photo by Magdalena Rusinek.

Attachment 17:

Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's collection, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław, Manuscripts Department, sign. 203/00.

Attachment 18:

Tadeusz Januszewski (ed.), *Katalog rękopisów Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza w Warszawie*, Vol. 4, Małgorzata Górzyńska *et al*. (eds), *Sygnatury 1521-2000: proza polska XX w.*, Warszawa: Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2005, photo 1. Photograph by Anna Kowalska.

Attachment 19:

Front cover of Jerzy Andrzejewski's *Ashes and Diamonds*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965.

Attachments 20-21:

Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's collection, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław, Manuscripts Department, sign. 179-223/06, T.3.

Attachment 22:

Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's collection, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław, Manuscripts Department, sign. 82-111/99, T.52.

Attachment 23:

"Się szło." Zeszyty podróżne i rękopisy różne Edwarda Stachury.
http://muzeumliteratury.pl/%E2%80%9Esie-szlo%E2%80%9D-zeszyty-podrozne-i-rekopisy-rozne-edwarda-stachury-w-zbiorach-muzeum-literatury/

Attachment 24:

Front cover of *Migotania, przejaśnienia: gazeta literacka* 2003, 2.

Attachment 25:

"Red Visitors Cause Rumpus," *Life* 1949, 14, 39-43.

Attachment 26:

Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's collection, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław, Manuscripts Department, sign. 203/00.

Attachment 27:

http://de.paperblog.com/we-all-read-dead-people-213594/